



Indigenous Tourism and The Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity In the Bribri -community of Yorkín, Costa Rica

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<p>Indigenous tourism has become popular worldwide due to the increased interest towards indigenous people's traditional lifestyles and cultures. Despite the variety among different indigenous groups, common cultural, behavioral, linguistic and ritualistic aspects, as well as the close relation with nature, are perceived central in shaping indigenous people's identity. Indigenous identity is seen as a holistic construct, dynamically interrelated with historical, socio-economic and geopolitical features.</p> <p>This study examines the ways in which indigenous community-based tourism influences the reconstruction of ethnic indigenous identity through a case study in the Bribri -community of Yorkín in Costa Rica. Moreover, this work explores how redefining identity relates to broader questions of development in indigenous communities. Identity construction is analyzed through a theoretical framework of categorization, identification and comparison, largely outlined by a dualistic discourse amidst cultural preservation versus modernization.</p> <p>The study is based on ethnographic research through participant observation and semi-structured interviews, conducted in Yorkín during a seven-week period in April-May 2014. Another visit to the community was made in December 2015. Altogether 24 thematic interviews and informal conversations were analyzed along with the field notes by using qualitative content analysis.</p> <p>The findings show that tourism plays a central role in the way the indigenous hosts perceive themselves, especially those working in tourism. The interviewees demonstrated strong ethnic awareness and a collective sense of belonging to an indigenous group. Within tourism, indigeneity is expressed and evaluated through mutual interaction with the visitors on a local and more global level. Tourism has had a positive effect in increasing cultural pride, self-esteem and gender equality, and has encouraged to revitalize Bribri language skills and revalorize traditions. Discrimination is therefore perceived in situations, where the historical position between the white and the Indians emerges and power relations become an issue.</p> <p>Indigenous identity can flexibly adapt into different situations and contradictions can be observed in the use of identity for different purposes. Tourism can increase the pressure of reconstructing the image of a "legitimate Indian", causing division of identities. Community-development, for example the construction of new houses and the will to put electricity, can be in conflict with the principles of tourism development. This can eventually lead to the commodification of identity in order to maintain indigeneity as the essence of the tourism attraction. Tourism is not considered a threat concerning indigenous identity but possible challenges include the worry of mixing with non-indigenous people and different future visions regarding everyday practices within the community.</p>			
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<p>Lisääntynyt kiinnostus alkuperäiskansojen perinteisiä elämäntapoja ja kulttuureita kohtaan on tehnyt niihin liittyvästä matkailusta maailmanlaajuisesti suosittua. Vaikka eri alkuperäisväestöjen kirjo on laaja, yhteiset kulttuuriin, käyttäytymiseen, kieleen ja uskomuksiin liittyvät tavat, sekä läheinen suhde luontoon ovat keskeisiä tekijöitä alkuperäisväestön identiteetin muokkautumisessa. Alkuperäis-identiteetti voidaan nähdä kokonaisvaltaisena käsitteenä, johon vaikuttavat erilaiset historialliset, sosioekonomiset ja geopoliittiset ominaisuudet.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, millä tavalla alkuperäisväestöyhteisöihin suuntautuva matkailu muokkaa alkuperäisväestön etnistä identiteettiä. Työ on tapaustutkimus Costa Ricasta, Yorkínin kyläyhteisöstä, jossa suurin osa väestöstä kuuluu Bribri -heimoon. Lisäksi tarkoituksena on pohtia, miten identiteetin määrittäminen liittyy laajempiin kehityskysymyksiin alkuperäisväestöyhteisöissä. Identiteetin muokkaamista analysoidaan teoreettisessa viitekehyksessä, jonka keskeisimpiä käsitteitä ovat kategorisointi, identifiointi ja vertailu. Identiteetin rakentumista ohjaa pitkälti kulttuurin säilyttämisen ja modernisaation välinen dualistinen diskurssi.</p> <p>Tutkimus on luonteeltaan etnografinen, perustuen osallistuvaan havainnointiin ja teemahaastatteluihin, joita on yhteensä 24. Aineisto kerättiin seitsemän viikon kenttätöjaksen aikana Yorkínin kylässä huhti-toukokuussa 2014. Toinen vierailu kylään tehtiin joulukuussa 2015. Haastattelut, epäviralliset keskustelut ja kenttätömuistiinpanot analysoitiin laadullisen sisällönanalyysin avulla.</p> <p>Tulokset osoittavat, että matkailulla on keskeinen merkitys siinä, miten alkuperäisväestö kokee itsensä. Matkailu vaikuttaa erityisesti sen parissa työskentelevien henkilöiden identiteetin muodostukseen. Haastateltujen tietoisuus omasta etnisyydestään ja kollektiivinen tunne alkuperäisväestöön kuulumisesta oli voimakas. Matkailussa alkuperäisyyttä ilmaistaan ja arvioidaan paikallisten ja vierailijoiden keskinäisen vuorovaikutuksen kautta niin kylätasolla kuin yleiselläkin tasolla. Matkailu on lisännyt paikallisten kulttuurista ylpeyttä, itsetuntoa ja sukupuolten välistä tasa-arvoa, sekä kannustanut bribri -kielen oppimiseen ja kulttuuristen perinteiden elvyttämiseen. Syrjintää ilmenee tilanteissa, joissa perinteiset valtasuhteet ja historiallinen asetus alkuperäisväestön ja valtaväestön välillä nousevat esiin.</p> <p>Alkuperäisväestön identiteetti on monitahoinen ja sitä sovelletaan joustavasti tilanteen mukaan. Ristiriitoja on kuitenkin havaittavissa identiteetin hyödyntämisessä erilaisiin tarkoituksiin. Matkailu voi lisätä tarvetta tuottaa kuvaa "oikeasta intiaanista", minkä myötä tarve erilaisten identiteettien luomiselle voi kasvaa. Kehityshankkeet, esimerkiksi uusien talojen rakentaminen ja kylän sähköistäminen, ovat osittain ristiriidassa matkailun periaatteiden kanssa. Tämä saattaa jatkossa johtaa alkuperäis-identiteetin tuotteistamiseen, jotta alkuperäisyys säilyisi kylän matkailuvalttina. Matkailua ei koeta uhkana alkuperäis-identiteetin kannalta, mutta mahdollisia haasteita ovat sekoittuminen valtaväestön kanssa ja kyläläisten erilaiset käytännön toiveet tulevaisuuden suhteen.</p>			
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords alkuperäisväestö, matkailu, identiteetti, kulttuuri, Costa Rica, Bribri			

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Abbreviations

ACTUAR	Asociación Costarricense de Turismo Rural Comunitario (Costa Rican Rural Tourism Association)
ANAI	Asociación Nacional de Alcaldías e Intendencias
ASOPRODEAY	Asociación Pro Desarrollo Àgricola y Económica de Yorkín (Association for Agricultural and Economic Development of Yorkín)
ATEC	Asociación Talamaqueña de Ecoturismo y Conservación (Talamancan Association of Ecotourism and Conservation)
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
CBT	Community-based tourism
CONAI	Comisión Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas (National Commission on Indigenous Affairs)
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
GEF	Global Environment Facility
ICBT	Indigenous community-based tourism
ILO	International Labour Organization
INEC	Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
MIVAH	Ministerio de Vivienda y Asentamientos Humanos
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PPT	Pro-poor Tourism
PILA	Parque Internacional La Amistad (La Amistad International Park)
PVI	Programa de Vivienda Indígena (Indigenous Housing Programme)
RTEC	Red Talamanca de Ecoturismo Comunitario
SGP	The GEF Small Grants Programme
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNPFII	United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
VALDESOL S.A	Firma Consultora para el diseño de planos arquitectónicos y servicios de ingeniería
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

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The maps have been elaborated by the author with QGIS.

All pictures have been taken by the author.

Map of Central America and Costa Rica

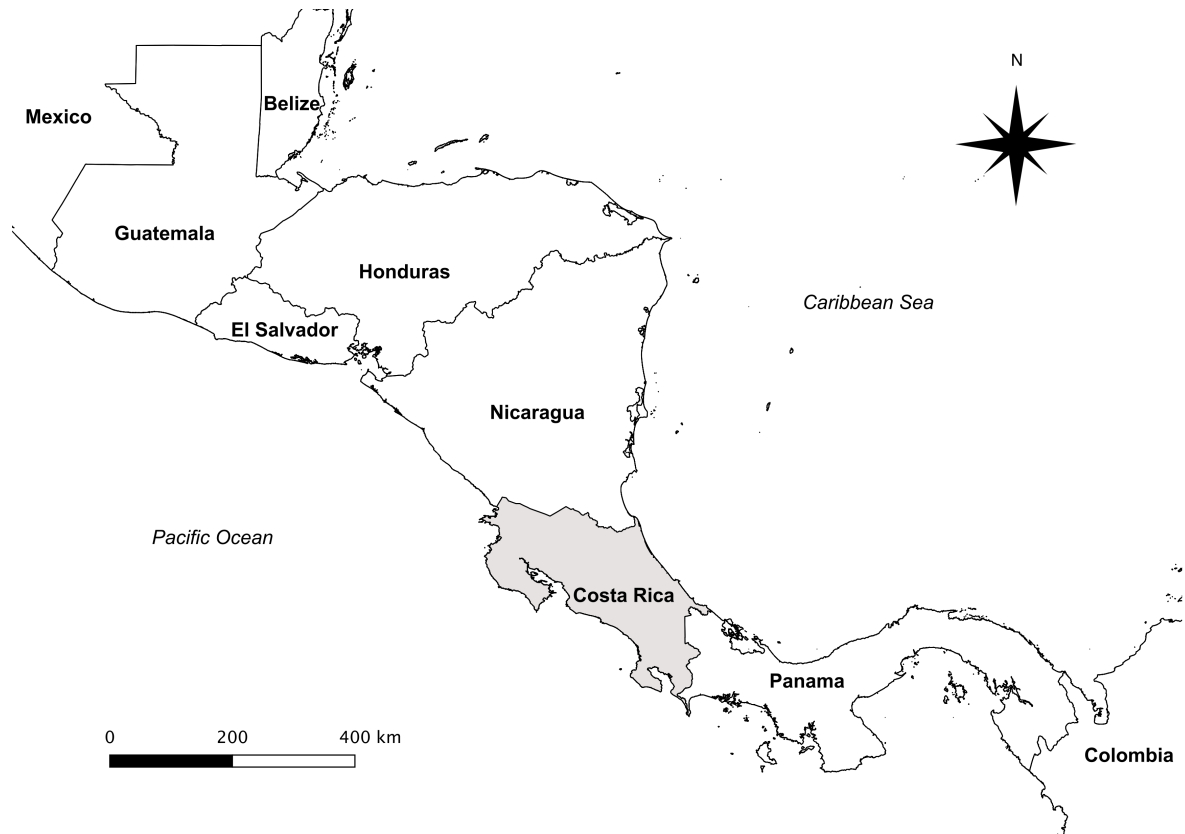
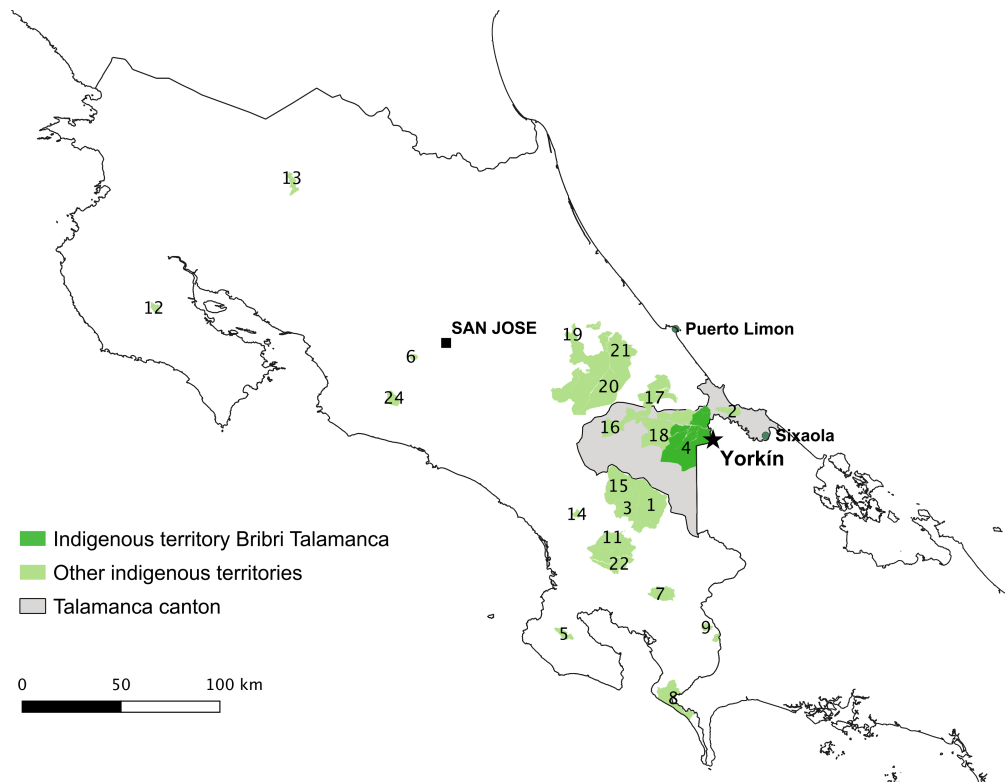


Figure 1. Geographical position of Costa Rica in Central America.

Map of Indigenous Territories and the location of the community of Yorkín



- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Bribri de Cabarga | 12. Matambu (Chorotega) |
| 2. Bribri de Keköldi (Cocles) | 13. Guatuso (Maleku) |
| 3. Bribri de Salitre | 14. China Kicha (Cabecar) |
| 4. Bribri de Talamanca | 15. Cabecar de Ujarras |
| 5. Guaymi de Osa (Ngäbe-Bugle) | 16. Cabecar de Telire |
| 6. Huetar de Quitirrisi | 17. Cabecar de Tayni |
| 7. Guaymi de Coto Brus (Ngäbe-Bugle) | 18. Cabecar de Talamanca |
| 8. Guaymi de Conteburica (Ngäbe-Bugle) | 19. Cabecar de Nairi-Awari |
| 9. Guaymi de Abrojos-Montezuma (Ngäbe-Bugle) | 20. Cabecar de Chirripo (Duchii) |
| 10. Guaymi de Altos de San Antonio (Ngäbe-Bugle) | 21. Cabecar de Bajo-Chirripo |
| 11. Terraba (Teribe) | 22. Brunka de Curre (Rey Curre) |
| | 23. Brunka de Boruca |
| | 24. Huetar de Zapatón |

Figure 2. Map of the 24 Indigenous Territories of Costa Rica and the location of the study area, community of Yorkín, in the canton of Talamanca (GIS data: Global Forest Watch 2016).

1 Introduction

1.1 Current state of tourism and indigenous people

The growing interest towards the various traditional and contemporary cultures and lifestyles of indigenous people has led to the global increase of tourism to areas where indigenous people inhabit, here referred to as “indigenous tourism”. Indigenous people have become more involved in the tourism industry since the 1980s, and nowadays, indigenous tourism is a worldwide phenomenon addressing a variety of complex and multi-layered issues related to indigenous peoples’ rights and position in the globalizing world. (Whitford and Ruhanen 2016). However, through times, indigenous people have frequently had to pay a big price in the overall tourism development, for example, by being displaced from their lands, serving as objects of wonder, being forced into labour, suffering from cultural alienation or ending up under foreign control and dependency (IWGIA 2016). Although oppression still occurs, the focus has shifted more towards the opportunities tourism development can present to the local people and how this is linked to the promotion of sustainable development.

As commonly stated in tourism research, tourism is the largest field of activity in the world taken into account its economic and geographic dimensions. Tourism has experienced continued expansion and diversification over the last six decades to become one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world (UNWTO 2016). In many developing countries, tourism has turned into an alternative way to generate income and ranks as the first export sector (UNWTO 2016, 2)¹. In the 1980s, the awareness of the negative environmental effects of tourism increased and the demand for more sustainable² options started growing in contrast for mass tourism. Sustainable tourism refers to those touristic activities that respect the natural, cultural and social environment, and create a positive exchange of experiences between residents and visitors. It has low impact on the environment and culture, and contributes to generating income and employment for local people. The United Nations Environment Programme and The World Tourism Organization (2005, 12) define sustainable tourism as "Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and

¹ For more key figures in tourism see UNWTO: *UNWTO Tourism Highlights, 2016 Edition*.

² The idea of sustainable development derives originally from the 1987 Brundtland report, *Our Common Future*, where it is defined as “development, which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED 1987).

environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities". As a consequence of the discussion on sustainability, different alternative forms of tourism have emerged, among which also indigenous tourism became to gain ground. Still, the alternative nature does not by any means guarantee the sustainability or responsibility of the tourism activity.

The academic interest in indigenous tourism has increased since the 1990s (Butler and Hinch 1996). Views on the effects of tourism on indigenous people range from optimistic to critical, one of the central question being whether tourism in the indigenous context represents a threat or an opportunity for development. Furthermore, the question is not only whether indigenous groups want to engage in tourism, but in the case they do, how to manage with that engagement (Sofield and Birtles 1996). Forming common patterns or drawing simple conclusions is challenging and there is no one size fits all framework, since every case must be viewed in its own circumstances (Whitford and Ruhanen 2010). Even though indigenous people around the world have different sets of beliefs and traditions, a collective factor is the special bond with land and ecology (Salmón 2000). While the majority of indigenous people see themselves as part of nature and believe they are inseparably interconnected with the environment³, non-indigenous people have tended to regard nature more readily as a resource for human use. Many indigenous people depend highly on nature, which forms the very basis of survival and livelihood. Indigenous people use their land in several ways, such as for fishing, hunting, agriculture, the gathering of wild forest products.

The present western belief often considers indigenous people as the preservers of the most genuine human values with a close connection to the natural environment in contrast to the western way of life (Pereiro 2016). There partly still exists a romanticized, and sometimes misleading view of indigenous people residing in far off places living in complete harmony with nature. Either way, indigenous peoples lifestyle is recognized being more and more threatened, which has played part in making indigenous venues attractive destinations for visitors. Indigenous tourism projects relate commonly to the spread of tourism into remote and marginal areas, including national parks, nature reserves and tribal territories, which many indigenous groups traditionally reside. Tourism initiatives controlled by indigenous people include mainly nature-based tours and different cultural attractions (Zeppel 2006;

³ See Salmón 2000, for the indigenous perception of ecology, referred to as kincentric ecology.

Butler and Hinch 2007). As culture and people constitute a central part of the tourism product in indigenous tourism, ethnic identity serves as a fundamental basis for indigenous tourism activity. Cultural and ethnic identities appear to tourists in the form of visible culture and can not be separated from the local environment. Ethnic identity is perceived by tourists as "indigenous culture" addressing the difference between the western and the indigenous peoples way of life, and how indigenous identity is easily framed by "the other", post-colonialism and commercialism.

The traditional indigenous identity has put pressure and forced indigenous people to search for different ways of adjustment. Tourism is perceived as one factor of social and cultural change, therefore affecting the way indigenous people identify themselves at an individual and at a communal level. In tourism, both hosts and guests are influenced by each other and the interaction between both groups involves the exchange of expectations, stereotypes and expressions of identity and culture (Stronza 2008). Construction of identity is in the heart of the tourism experience: the relation between visitors and local populations, the participants views of themselves and others, as well as the tourists' quest for authenticity and testing of boundaries (Abram et al. 1997).

1.2 Purpose of the study and research questions

I wanted to focus on tourism in my research because it can serve as a powerful tool to directly or indirectly influence issues such as equality, cross-cultural understanding and sustainable development. Concentrating on indigenous tourism provides an interesting opportunity to get a deeper insight on how cultural variety has become a center of interest and how ethnicity is expressed within the tourism framework. What kinds of challenges are related to the change in traditional means of livelihood, and how do people find a balance between the "modern world" and their own traditions and lifestyle? My aim was to do a case study in a rural environment to better understand how tourism affects everyday life at a community level. I had previously spent longer periods of time in different parts of South America and the Caribbean because of exchanges, internships and also as a tourist, so Latin America was a logical geographical area to realize the study. In addition, from the beginning I considered it important to be able to directly communicate in the same language with the informants.

While searching for information, I came across the tourism project in the community of Yorkín. I had once been in Costa Rica before and it seemed like an interesting country to do research on indigenous tourism for several reasons. Costa Rica stands as the most visited country in the Central American region and has gained global reputation as one of the pioneers of ecotourism and sustainable tourism (Honey 2008, 160-214). However, The country has had trouble in sustaining the green values due to the rapid growth of tourism (Peralta and Solano 2009). Although Costa Rica has profiled itself as an ethical traveler destination, indigenous people remain fairly isolated from the rest of the society and their rights have constantly been debated. Several indigenous tourism initiatives have been developed by the indigenous people under the concept of rural community-based tourism to gain social and economic benefits. I ended up realizing the case study in Yorkín, because the community has already a long history working with tourism, so possible changes and a temporal continuum could actually be noticed by now.

The subject of this study is multi- and crossdisciplinary and draws from tourism studies, anthropology, sociology, human geography and psychology. The objective of this study is to find out how does tourism frame the construction of indigenous identity in the Bribri community of Yorkín focusing on the perceptions of the indigenous people themselves. The main research question is: *How does tourism influence the (re)construction of ethnic identity and what consequences has tourism had on people's self-perception?* More specifically: *How is ethnic identity developed through tourism? What are the central elements forming the basis of indigenous identity and how is identity expressed by locals in different situations? How does the question of identity interrelate to local perceptions of development? What factors are considered as the main threats for indigenous identity?* With this study my aim is to present a new case study to the field of indigenous community-based tourism, which can help broaden the understanding of the phenomena and contribute to the future planning and development of similar cases by analyzing the experience of Yorkín.

1.3 Structure of the work

The work is divided into nine main sections. The first part provides a short introduction to the subject and explains what led to the choice of the topic. The second part discusses the link between tourism and development addressing the relevance of this research for development studies as an academic discipline. Then, earlier research on indigenous people, tourism and

identity is reviewed. The theoretical background tries to clarify the concept of "indigenusness" as well as to focus on "identity" as an analytical concept. Also the meaning of tourism and tourists are explained to avoid any misunderstandings in the use of the words. The fourth part discusses the methods used in this study and explains why semi-structured interviews and participant observation were chosen as the forms of gathering data. A more detailed description of the ethnographic fieldwork is provided in order to better contextualize the subject into practice. The fifth part shifts the focus to the historical context of the Bribris and the position of indigenous people in Costa Rica. The community of Yorkín as well as the history of tourism development in the community and activities offered for visitors are described in detail. The history of tourism development is based on the strategic plan of the organization Stibrawpa and a number of formal and informal conversations during fieldwork.

The analysis part begins by interpreting the development of indigenous identity in the community through tourism within the three stages of Social identity theory. It proceeds to analyze the image of a "legitimate indian" required for tourism purposes and problematizes the flexible and strategic nature of indigenous identity and how it is used in different situations. Then, effects of tourism are looked at on a more personal level by increased self-esteem and moments of submission, thus affecting the self-understanding of the community as a whole. The next part links identity construction into the broader sphere between cultural preservation and modernity within a socio-cultural framework of contradictions typical for ethnic tourism such as authenticity versus cultural commodification and economic development versus cultural preservation. Local perceptions of development are discussed and interconnected with questions of authenticity and the commodification of indigenous identity. The analysis part ends by bringing into light challenges related to the loss of indigenous identity and observing the direction of future implications between the multiple desires of the community-members to pursue their lifestyle. In the Discussion, the results of this study are reflected upon earlier literature. The challenges related to theory and the gathering and interpretation of the data as well as ethical considerations are discussed to increase the transparency and reliability of the study. The thesis finishes by summarizing the main findings and giving suggestions for further studies. The quotes from the interviews are freely translated into English but the original quotes in Spanish can be found in the Annex.

2 Background

2.1 Tourism and development

The discourse between tourism and development is multifaceted and it is widely contested, whether tourism can serve as an effective means of achieving development or not (see e.g. Sharpley and Telfer 2002). Also the applicability of the principles of sustainable development to the context of tourism should be more critically questioned (Sharpley 2000). What exactly is meant by development and what are its objectives are in the core of the discussion and form also the basis of development studies as an academic field. Development studies is understood as a normative, problem-oriented and value-based academic discipline. The driving force is the perception of the world being divided into the "prosperous north" and "poorer south", which has led to unequal living conditions and opportunities among the worlds population. This may be the core global problem and at the same time the root cause of several other problems. (Koponen 2007, 11). Tourism offers an interesting way of looking at the distribution and interaction of these two worlds in practice. Tourism is incorporated as a central part of development policies especially in many less developed countries and the promotion of tourism as a means of development has been justified primarily on the basis of its competent role in larger economic and social progress. However, less emphasis has been put on the actual process of development. (Sharpley 2002, 12-13). Secondary reasons for tourism development as a viable option for development include the improvements of infrastructure, justification for environmental protection and revitalization of traditional cultural practices and crafts (ibid. 20). Economic impacts can be quantified by measuring tourism's contributions on GDP but the nature of processes behind tourism and development is more complex to examine in a qualitative way. From a more cynical perspective tourism can be considered simply as the only option for accomplishing development due to the lack of alternatives (Brown 1998, 59). Tourism as a means of development can be considered "successful" as long as the benefits brought are not exceeded with the negative consequences (Sharpley 2002, 16).

Since the Second World War the evolvement of tourism and development theory have followed similar time lines but attempts to bring these fields together have been minor, thus producing a theoretical gap (Telfer 2002, 35; in Sharpley and Telfer 2002). Still, different development theories; modernisation theory, dependency theory, neo-liberalism as well as

alternative and sustainable development views can provide insights into the discussion of tourism and development (see *ibid.* and Telfer 2002). "It is argued that tourism development remains embedded in early modernisation theory whilst the principles of sustainable tourism overlook the characteristics of the production and consumption of tourism" (Telfer 2000). Alternative forms of tourism are shaped by theoretical approaches and models of alternative development paradigms, which put emphasis on the satisfaction of basic needs, grassroots level, equal gender relations and sustainability. Especially sustainability has been a crosscutting theme in the development of alternative forms of tourism.

Interesting from the indigenous tourism perspective is the theoretical tendency of *Buen Vivir*, which emerged among the various alternative views as a criticism for the postcolonial Western development discourse. The idea of *Buen Vivir*, *Vivir Bien* in Spanish or *Sumak Kawsay* in Kichwa language aims to a comprehensive and collective state of well-being. Originally inspired by the indigenous peoples worldviews and traditions in South America and partly emerged in reaction to negative effects of development projects, it has turned into a popular term having made its way even to the constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia (Gudynas 2011). Gudynas (*ibid.*) refers to *Buen Vivir* as a political platform for diverse ideas of alternatives to development originated from different ontologies, not only limited to non-western knowledge. Tourism has been little studied in the framework of *Buen Vivir* (see e.g. Castillo et al. 2015; Endere and Zulaika 2015). However, the interesting aspect is its interculturality and that well-being is considered possible only within a community, Nature being included in the notion of community. "Buen Vivir therefore embraces the broad notion of well-being and cohabitation with others and Nature" (Gudynas 2011).

Alternative forms of tourism, such as *Pro-poor tourism* and *Community-based tourism* have been perceived from a methodological point of view as development strategies. *Pro-poor tourism* (PPT) is a development methodology considering tourism as a tool for poverty reduction initially developed in the end of the 1990s. It has been widely adopted by development agencies, multilateral institutions and NGOs. (Gascón 2015). Employment and the development of micro enterprise opportunities can benefit the economically vulnerable and the risk is smaller when tourism is based on existing livelihoods, like crafts or food production. (Goodwin 2008). PPT has received several critiques, for example on its simplified perception of poverty and favoring the business interests of the tourism sector (*ibid.*). Similarly, Community-based tourism (CBT) can be applied as a development strategy

especially in rural areas (Peralta and Solano 2009; Trejos and Chiang 2009). In contrast to pro-poor tourism it emphasizes more on the agency and well-being of the locals (see e.g. Scheyvens 1999, 2002; Matarrita-Cascante et al. 2010), sharing much in common with the ideas of Buen Vivir and many segments of indigenous tourism.

Development within the framework of this study is understood as a broad category considering its everchanging nature. It can be perceived as a desired goal, an empirical social process or a form of intentional intervention (Koponen 2007, 50). The development relevance of this research is evident because it brings together contested issues from the development perspective; tourism and the position of indigenous people; and focuses on the interaction between the "north" and the "south" on a very grass-root level. This research acknowledges the importance of historical processes in the present day actions of indigenous people and tries to explain the complex view of development through focusing on identity and social practices related to everyday activities on a community-basis. In Yorkín, economic and social benefits, such as the creation of employment opportunities, were the main motives to engage with tourism in the first place acknowledging the importance of tourism as a way of cultural revitalization. Community-members as well as agencies working with the community pursue tourism more as a way of increasing the quality of life instead of referring to development as such.

2.2 The development of indigenous tourism research

Indigenous tourism is a multi- and cross-disciplinary subject that has drawn attention mainly in anthropology, sociology, geography and political ecology. The role of indigenous people in tourism has been discussed and debated from various points of views ranging from theoretical to practical and from critical to optimistic. Indigenous tourism has its roots in the early anthropological tourism studies (e.g. Smith 1977) and has evolved into an important field of academic investigation since the 1990s (Butler and Hinch 1996, 2007; Notzke 2006; Zeppel 2006; Buultjens and Fuller 2007). Research has been made on a variety of topics, for example (1) indigenous peoples engagement in tourism; (2) impacts, benefits and challenges of indigenous tourism; (3) business and industry perspectives of indigenous tourism; (4) marketing and representation of indigenous people as well as (5) visitor demand studies (see e.g. Kutzner et al. 2007). A big part of the literature on indigenous tourism has emphasized a development-based theoretical framework, which regards tourism as a panacea for the

communities to revitalize their economic situation (Bunten 2010). However, opinions on indigenous tourism range from whether it represents an opportunity for indigenous people to gain economic independence and cultural rejuvenation to whether it is a major threat in the form of hegemonic subjugation and cultural degradation (Butler and Hinch 2007, 2).

Earlier tourism studies from the 1970s and 1980s reflect the wider colonialist and methodological approaches of that time keeping a clear gap between "us" and "the other". Tourism was for long considered as the main reason for cultural change among indigenous cultures without critically examining the effects of globalization as such. Receiving communities did not play an active role in tourism development and tourism as an external force had a strong acculturating effect on the receiving community. (Pereiro 2016). The primary focus was not on the role and engagement of indigenous people but rather on the writer's own subjective experience (e.g. Smith 1977; Altman and Finlayson 1993). Postcolonial indigenous tourism research has slowly become more complex and shifted towards critical, feminist and ethnographic approaches following somewhat behind the broader trends of social sciences. The increased attention and awareness of concerns faced by indigenous people around the world have also played part in this change. The research on indigenous tourism can no longer be viewed as a homogenous academic field, easily grouped by topic, author or geographic context (Nielsen and Wilson 2012). Nowadays there is an increased understanding that any study of indigenous tourism should support indigenous people in determining their own engagement and the means by which this commitment is managed as well as acknowledge the agency and diversity of indigenous people (Nielsen and Wilson 2012).

The latest studies on Indigenous tourism recognize the difficulty of separating the effects of tourism from other driving forces of international integration such as migration, urbanization and technological development. Instead of focusing on the effects of tourism on indigenous people, the objective is rather to find a sustainable tourism model that suits indigenous communities without jeopardizing their traditional lifestyle (Weaver 2010; Pereiro 2016). A sustainable and responsible indigenous tourism model requires that the local people themselves manage their involvement in the tourism development as well as exert control over their cultural and natural resources. There should be a long enough period of social learning for the indigenous people to build up their own type of tourism. This should be done through a transformative experience and the development of significant connections among

people, local sites, culture, food, heritage and the environment. (Pereiro 2016). Indigenous tourism should develop more and more from inside to outside instead of from outside to inside.

So far, the vast majority of research has been made in the context of Australia (Finlayson 1991; Pitcher et al. 1999) and Canada (Blundell 1995; Bunten 2010), while other parts of the world have been less represented. Taken into account the number of indigenous people in Latin America, there has been a lack of studies on indigenous tourism compared to other continents (Swain 1989; Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos 2004; Theodossopoulos 2013; Pereiro 2016). Bibliographies compiled for indigenous tourism (Zeppel 1999; Kutzner et al. 2007) include only a few cases in Latin America and, for instance, the *Bulletin of Latin American Research* has published only 64 articles related to indigenous tourism to date since 1981. Some examples include Swain (1989) and Tice (1995), who have studied the gender roles in indigenous tourism among the Kunas in Panama by focusing on women selling handicrafts for the visitors. Also Pereiro (2016) has done long-term anthropological work in the Guna territory emphasizing on the sustainability of indigenous tourism. Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos (2004) present the case of a Garifuna community in Roatán, Honduras, where indigenous people wish to gain more control over the representation of their culture as well as the economic benefits of tourism.

As a big part of research on indigenous tourism draws from case studies, there have been attempts to build more comprehensive models of the involvement of indigenous tourism (Weaver 2010). In addition, efforts to more systematically analyze the academic literature on indigenous tourism have been made (Nielsen and Wilson 2012; Pereiro 2016; Whitford and Ruhanen 2016). Nielsen and Wilson (2012) propose a conceptual typology to explore the degree of indigenous presence in previous indigenous tourism research categorizing the studies into *invisible*, *identified*, *stakeholder* and *indigenous-driven* depending on the role; presence and engagement indigenous people play in the research. While *invisible* studies place indigenous people as the objective focus, *indigenous-driven* represents the other extreme, where research processes are often led by indigenous people and they are the end users of the research. In their extensive literature review Whitford and Ruhanen (2016) provide an overview of trends of indigenous tourism research over 35 years, addressing that a significant proportion of the academic texts on indigenous tourism is strongly shaped by sustainability issues. Pereiro (2016) divides studies of indigenous tourism in Latin America

into three different categories: (1) optimistic, (2) critical and (3) adaptive, depending on the changes produced by tourism in the indigenous communities. The optimistic view focuses on the positive aspects of tourism development and the empowerment on indigenous groups. The critical view concentrates on the negative impact of tourism and underestimates the proactivity and resistance of indigenous hosts. The adaptive view attempts to constantly evaluate the positive and negative effects of tourism in the prevailing context concentrating on the principles of sustainability and responsibility and emphasizes the right of indigenous people to refuse participating in tourism.

The participation of indigenous people themselves in research on indigenous people has often been questioned (Koster et al. 2012; Nielsen and Wilson 2012). Some researchers have afterwards corrected their previous views on ethnocentricity and reflexivity (e.g. Butler and Hinch 2007; Swain & Hall 2007). Many researchers have addressed the need for more participation of indigenous stakeholders and co-authorship in the research on indigenous tourism (Nielsen and Wilson 2012; Whitford and Ruhanen 2016). Indigenous tourism remains still largely driven by the needs and interests of non-indigenous people, and the indigenous people are too rarely engaged in the tourism industry. Research in the field is still too much dominated by white western academics (Nielsen and Wilson 2012).

2.3 Earlier research on tourism and identity

Smith (1977) was one of the first to discuss the role of ethnic identity in tourism in her work *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. At that time in anthropology and sociology, ethnicity was mostly observed from a one-sided point of view regarding people in non-western societies predominantly as objects of tourism. Van den Berghe and Charles Keyes (1984) were pioneers in observing the relevance of tourism in the comprehension of ethnicity in the modern society, which was long left aside in the studies of race and ethnicity. Since then, the relationship between tourism and the construction of identity has been more broadly examined focusing not only on the impact of tourism on identity but also acknowledging the dynamic ways in which different identities are constructed. In their work *International Tourism: Identity and Change*, Lanfant, Allcock and Bruner aptly state that the theme of identity is always omnipresent within discourse about tourism (Lanfant 1995, 30). Picard and Wood (1997) examined tourism and ethnicity in the context of Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands through a variety of case studies. Similarly, Abram, Mcleold and Waldren (1997) and

Burns and Novelli (2006) contribute to the discourse on tourism and identity through a number of cases. More recent work includes Tomaselli's *Cultural tourism and identity - Rethinking Indigeneity* (2012), raising questions on exploitation, entitlement, ownership and authenticity in Southern Africa.

Few interesting case studies to mention include Stronzas (2008) work on tourism and identity in the Amazon, where she argues that tourism seems to cause a new differentiation of identities in the community under study. She points out four indicators that show people have created new (or renewed) pride in indigenous culture: 1) grown interest in learning indigenous language, stories and songs from elders, 2) increased efforts in cultural presentations, shaped by discussions over intellectual property rights, 3) adoption of indigenous identity by members of the community, who are not indigenous, and 4) debates about ethics dividing the community. Attanapola and Lund (2013) examine the ability of indigenous people to determine their identity as part of a survival strategy among the Veddas in Sri Lanka, proposing the options of integration and indigenization, where tourism plays a central part. Heldt and Maureira (2015) discuss the ways in which indigenous tourism affects performance of identity and culture in several communities in the context of Québec, Canada. The display of objects and performance of art and culture influences the way locals see themselves and construct their identity. Involvement in tourism had encouraged people to learn the indigenous languages and revalue the importance of belonging to an indigenous community. Research on tourism and identity has slowly shifted from analyzing the one-sided effects of tourism on identity towards understanding the complexity of interrelations related tourism and identity. Identity should be viewed as more dynamic and placing more emphasis on the mutual construction of local and tourists identities.

Outside the field of tourism, Nygren (1998) has analyzed the reconstruction of mythological tradition, cultural identity and social representation among the Bribris within the postcolonial framework. In big part of the literature on Amerindians, the indigenous cultural imagery is unproblematically defined as "authentic" and clearly separated as "there", leading to a nihilistic construction of the other. This view takes for granted the primordial ethnic identity and deepens the gap between modern "us" and traditional "them". (ibid). Little attention has been put to the process character of imagery and representation, the transformation of indigenous ethnicity throughout history, or the indigenous peoples responses to the changing

social and political circumstances (ibid.). Nygren argues that the process of ethnic reconstruction is a contested theme over representation and authenticity, where ethnic groups demonstrate their identity through change and continuity within historically shaped social structures.

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Defining indigenous tourism

In this research theory is bound to the analytical framework of the concept "indigenous" and how it is used in the tourism context. In addition, the study draws on the social identity theory and further theorizes the meaning of identity. *Tourism* is regarded here as a social, cultural and economic phenomenon related to the movement of people to places outside their usual environment, pleasure being the common motivation (UNWTO 2016). This activity is then carried out by visitors. Tourism is seen as a subset of *travel*, which refers to moving between different geographic locations for any purpose or duration⁴ (UN 2010). Visitors, guests and tourists are treated as synonyms in this study, despite observing the conceptual differences between them, and acknowledging that particularly "tourist" can be sometimes associated unfavorably.

The term indigenous tourism has for long remained imprecise and ambiguous with multiple meanings (Pereiro 2016). In its broadest and most inclusive sense, indigenous tourism refers to any segment of the tourism industry involving indigenous people (ATSIC, 1997). In the earlier context of the anthropology of tourism, Smith (1977) examined five types of tourism: historical, cultural, ethnic, environmental and recreational, where indigenous tourism was seen as part of ethnic tourism promoted by stereotypical expressions, such as "exotic", "native" and "primitive". Later Smith (1996) attempted to further define indigenous tourism by separating four Hs: habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts.

Several studies rely on the definition of Butler and Hinch (1996, 9), who describe indigenous tourism as an "activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction". The definition builds upon the role of cultural theming, indigenous control and particular visitor experience.

⁴ For a more comprehensive conceptual and methodological framework for definitions, concepts, classifications and indicators used especially in tourism statistics see UN: *International Recommendations for Tourism Statistics 2008*.

They make an important distinction between indigenous-controlled and indigenous-themed tourism, recognizing the agency of indigenous people rather than seeing them as passive producers of tourism experiences (Nielsen and Wilson 2012). Butler and Hinch (1996) specify four types of indigenous tourism activity: (1) culture dispossessed tourism (cultural themes present but low control by indigenous people), (2) indigenous culture-controlled tourism (cultural themes present with high control by indigenous people), (3) diversified indigenous tourism (cultural themes absent but high indigenous control) and (4) non-indigenous tourism (cultural themes absent with low indigenous control). In their later work, Butler & Hinch (2007, 7), refer to an indigenous tourism "system", whose fundamental elements are indigenous destination hosts, generating region visitors, cross-cultural interactions and "other major players" such as tourism trade, governments and media. These factors depend on the economic, physical, social, cultural and political environment, each influencing and shaping the indigenous tourism system. Every indigenous tourism experience is seen as unique in terms of time, space and participants. Since the earliest simplified descriptions, indigenous tourism has been understood as a more complex phenomenon and definitions have become more comprehensive. The definitions of indigenous tourism differ from each other mainly in terms of the level of engagement and ownership of indigenous people and the role of culture and visitor experience (Butler and Hinch 1996, 2007; Smith 1996; Zeppel 2006; Bunten and Graburn 2009).

The terminology and amount of different concepts related to alternative forms of tourism is overwhelming and somewhat confusing because they often overlap with each other or can be used as synonyms. Often indigenous tourism has been categorized as a subset for broader concepts, like *sustainable tourism*, *cultural tourism*, *ecotourism* or *rural tourism*. Taken into account the complexity of the term "indigenous", indigenous tourism is closely related or used as equivalent for more specific terms, such as *ethnic tourism*, *ethnotourism*, *ethno-ecotourism*, *heritage tourism*, *first nations tourism*, *native tourism*, *tribal tourism*, *pro-poor tourism*, and *community-based (rural) tourism*. For example ethnic tourism differs from indigenous tourism in the sense that it can refer to any ethnic group, while indigenous tourism involves groups specifically of indigenous origin. Community-based rural tourism again, is as a type of tourism developed in rural areas, where the local population, especially indigenous peoples and peasant families, play a major role its management and control as well as in the distribution of its benefits (Cañada and Gascón 2007; Cañada and Fandiño 2009). Community-based tourism emphasized a bottom-up approach, where residents values

are incorporated in the planning process and the flow of benefits is equitable. Basically any type of tourism can be transformed into indigenous tourism by just including some word for indigenous in it, as showed for instance by Zeppel (2006), who refers to *indigenous ecotourism* as community ecotourism projects that occur on indigenous territories and lands (see also Cusack and Dixon 2006). In addition, the geographic context plays a big part in the use of different concepts. While in Australia, New Zealand and Canada aboriginal tourism has been commonly applied, in Latin America and Costa Rica, indigenous tourism has often been included under the concept of community-based rural tourism. From the theoretical and conceptual point of view, the variety of terms falling under the meaning on indigenous has been problematic. The final conceptual choice is generally based on the geographic context, the particular group under focus, the self-identification of the ethnicity of the group as well as on the sensibilities of the targeted audience of the study (Butler and Hinch 2007, 4).

In relation to previous definitions, this study has a lot in common with indigenous culture-controlled tourism (Butler and Hinch 1996), indigenous ecotourism (Zeppel 2006) and community-based rural tourism (Cañada and Gascón 2007; Cañada and Fandiño 2009). In the case of Yorkín, the level of engagement and ownership of indigenous people themselves, the role of culture and visitor experience are all high. I have chosen to apply the term indigenous to take into account its well established position in the academic literature of tourism research, the geographic context of Latin America and Costa Rica as well as the way the Bribri refer to their own identity. Furthermore, I suggest the use of *indigenous community-based tourism* to refer to the activity under investigation within this research.

3.2 Indigenous community-based tourism

As can be noticed from above, indigenous tourism is not a clear concept and can be used as an umbrella concept for several types of tourism related to indigenous people. This work suggests applying the concept of *indigenous community-based tourism* (ICBT) combining indigenous tourism and the principles of community-based rural tourism (Cañada et al. 2006) to best describe the nature of tourism practiced in Yorkín. It facilitates several conceptual questions excluding indigenous tourism practiced outside communities and also casts off other non-indigenous community-based initiatives. This does not mean to undermine other types of community-based incentives, but to clearly narrow down the definition to cover only

indigenous-driven projects. Community is seen here as a collective unit bound to a specific geographic location.

Indigenous community-based tourism is defined in this work as a type of tourism, which directly involves indigenous people whose ethnicity, culture, lifestyle and the natural surroundings of their place of residence, serve as the basis of the tourist attraction. The tourism activity is predominantly controlled by the indigenous people themselves and the aim of the tourism activity is to achieve a mutual intercultural exchange with guests. ICBT provides a more comprehensive definition for the type of tourism practiced in several indigenous communities around the world. However, the concept is not straightforward and thus attention should be paid on the definitions of the concepts indigenous and community in each context. The concept of indigenous tourism is not simple either, since the term indigenous is complex and has constantly been debated. In previous literature on indigenous tourism, surprisingly little attention has been put into the problematization of the term indigenous.

3.3 Who is indigenous?

According to the United Nations, there are approximately 370 million indigenous people in the world, belonging to 5000 different groups, in over 70 countries (UNFPFII). Considering the diversity of indigenous people, no official authoritative definition for *indigenous* has been adopted and the understanding of the concept is instead based on the following:

- Self- identification as indigenous people at the individual level
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
- Distinct social, economic or political systems
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs
- Form non-dominant groups of society
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities. (UNFPFII).

The most rational approach is identifying indigenous people rather than defining them, based on the fundamental criterion of self-identification underlined in a number of human rights documents (UNFPFII). The term "indigenous" has been generally used for a long time

although the preference of other terms, like *indian*, *aboriginal*, *native* and *first nations peoples* can vary depending most of all on the geographical context. Also occupational terms, such as *hunter-gatherers*, *nomads*, *peasants*, or *hill people* are often used interchangeably to describe distinct groups of indigenous people (ibid.). Being called "indigenous" has in several cases taken negative connotations, which has led some people not willing to reveal or define their origin. The Bribris refer to themselves as *indigenas*, for which its English translation indigenous is commonly used throughout this study. Indigenous is also the legal term in Costa Rica to refer to those recognized having an official indigenous status.

The image of indigenous people is clearly two-fold, although the division between distant, exotic cultures and the Western culture has become more blurred making the definitions yet more complex. From a historical point of view, the term indigenous has for long been seen in a negative light related to colonization and discrimination of the original inhabitants. Indigenous people are seen as a poor, homogenous group, which for decades has been economically, socially and politically excluded from territorial and human rights. On the other hand, indigenous people are diverse, each group with their own history and beliefs. Interestingly, in tourism "indigenous" has almost exclusively been seen in positive light. In the earlier context of tourism, partly contradictory adjectives such as *ethnic*, *exotic*, *native*, *primitive* and *marginal* often appeared in describing the nature of indigenous people but descriptions have become more neutral in time. The word "indigenous" has been associated with something interesting and alluring with the objective of increasing the attention of tourists and also often unethically for pure marketing purposes. The word "tradition" associated with indigenous peoples easily adopts a naturalistic meaning referring to something historically typical for the indigenous people as a group. Tradition should rather be perceived as a symbolic social construction, which involves continuity and discontinuity. Referring to tradition with culture emphasizes the dynamic nature of culture as constantly being reformulated in the contemporary context. (Linnekin 1997, 217).

The attempts in defining the concepts reflect the thinking of each period. Non-indigenous researchers have tried to find exact definitions for indigenous without recognizing that indigenous people or indigenous culture can not be seen as fixed and static matters because of their diversity and ever-changing nature (Nilsen and Wilson 2012). In the end the concepts of indigenous and indigenous tourism are impossible to simply define taking into account the dynamic and altering contemporary nature of both terms. (Butler and Hinch 2007; Nielsen &

Wilson 2012). The use of "indigenous" is meant to be rather inclusive than exclusive (Butler and Hinch 2007). Bunten (2010) argues that ultimately it is not the task for white, Western researchers to determine what counts as indigenous, "traditional" or "authentic". The discussion on the conceptualisation of indigenous people is useful for further academic study, but does not ultimately relate to the everyday realities of indigenous people themselves. Purely theoretical and definitional discussion can even function to limit the role of indigenous people in the tourism industry (Nielsen and Wilson 2012). "Indigenous" is a powerful word which can adapt to a variety of meanings depending on the context and the situation. This study does not aim to further problematize the discussion related to the concept of indigenous, but it tries to be conscious about its complex and multi-layered meanings in the broad cross-disciplinary academic discussion.

3.4 Identity and Social identity theory

Identity has for long been of central interest in social sciences (Erikson 1963, 1968; Marcia 1980; Tajfel 1981), more specifically in the fields of psychology, sociology and anthropology. The concept has adapted to a variety of definitions depending on the field of study. Identity can be seen as a unitary psychological construct, but it is more fruitful to think of it as having many dimensions (Bruillard and Hartlaub 2005). At its simplest, identity can be understood as the individual's comprehension of himself or herself; who someone is, for example through the name of the person. The basic meaning of identity refers to where someone, either a person or a group belongs and what is considered as self-image and/or common-image (Golubovic 2011). Identity is composed of a person's social and cultural background and particularly, what distinguishes a person or a group of persons from "others". Identity is not naturally given but culturally defined and constituted. (ibid.).

Identity can be further divided into *ethnic*, *national*, *social* and *cultural* identity. Both ethnic and national identity, refer to the belonging to a certain ethnic category or a nation-state, where identity is seen as a naturally given and unchangeable entity. It is resistant to change and more characteristic to premodern societies (Golubovic 2011). It includes the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings and behavior that derive from the membership of a larger group. Phinney (1996, 922) defines ethnic identity as "an enduring, fundamental aspect of the self that includes a sense of membership in an ethnic groups and the attitudes and feelings associated with that membership". Cultural and social identity, also referred to as socio-cultural identity, can be understood as a "socio-cultural, political or ideologically constructed

collective sense of communal or personal identity", that can be changed in socio-historical processes or by cultural dissemination (Golubovic 2011). Socio-cultural identity is open to reconceptualization and can appear in plural forms, while ethnic or national identity is more closed and disregards new social processes (ibid.). Ethnic identity recognizes only the existence of a collective form of expression according to which all individuals have to yield, while cultural identity can adapt to either the collective or individual idea of identity (Golubovic 2011).

Ethnic identity is a central element of overall identity determining many aspects of social adjustment (Phinney 1991). There seem to be some common aspects of ethnic identity that are uniform irrespective of culture, although certain historical aspects of ethnic identity and related behaviors can vary cross-culturally (Bruillard and Hartlaub 2005). The belonging to an ethnic group may gain importance the more the difference from "others" is highlighted (Garcia 1982, Porter and Washington 1993), although individual differences exist. An individual may possess several identities, which adapt to different social roles, emphasizing the difference of the individual from others. Giddens (1993) sees identity as a symbolic construction and social identities vary in different historical contexts. Traditionally, identity carries from generation to another, while modern societies consider identity as "a matter of rational action and being dynamic".

The focus in this study is on ethnic identity, constructed on a collective level through the individual's notion of his/her socio-cultural identity. Ethnic identity has been further conceptualized by Erikson (1968) in the "identity versus role confusion" stage in his *identity formation theory*, Tajfel and Turner (1979) in *social identity theory* and Marcia (1980) in his *identity status theory*. Erikson concentrates on the process of identity development, which occurs through the stages of exploration and commitment. Marcia identifies four different statuses of identity: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement. Social identity theory provides a fruitful approach to observing the construction of ethnic identity of the indigenous hosts through tourism.

Originally social identity theory was developed to explain the psychological ground of intergroup conflict and discrimination (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Social identity theory identifies three cognitive phases in separating us from the others: social categorization, social identification and social comparison. First, in *social categorization*, people tend to distribute objects and people into different groups to better make sense of the surrounding social environment. This includes the classification of self as well, and it is possible to belong to several groups at the same time. In the process, the world is divided into "us" and "them" and observing the norms and behavior of other groups helps us to understand more ourselves. In the stage of *social identification*, people adapt the identity of the group they have classified themselves belonging to. This includes feelings of emotional significance and adaptation of forms of acting, that are believed to be typical to the specific group. A persons' identity is therefore the outcome of the identification process. In the *social comparison* stage, people weigh their own identity by comparing it to other groups. The process of stereotyping people easily exaggerates similarities within the same group and differences between separate groups, which plays a part in raising prejudices towards others. A central idea of social identity theory is that members of an "in-group" tend to increase their status by finding unfavorable aspects of an "out-group", thereby supporting the positive image of themselves.

Identity is closely related to the concept of culture, and many questions regarding culture can be modified into questions related to identity. In this context, there is a need to specify what is meant by culture. Culture makes an essential part of social life and lays the foundation of personality, providing a pattern of the common way of living and thinking as a value-referential framework upon which definitions and interpretations of identities rely (Golubovic 2011). This study examines culture from the point of view of development studies relying on the definition that culture is a holistic system of actions and meanings covering all areas of life, characteristic for a specific group of people. Culture comprises all the habits and customs that a group of people has developed to understand the natural environment as well as the surrounding reality. It includes people's lines of actions and the ways of giving meanings to actions and their interpretations. The definition includes material as well as non-material culture. Central elements of culture are language, religion, knowledge and skills but also for example the way of eating and dressing up, ways of production and consumption and how power relations between individuals and genders are defined and used (Koponen 2007, 71).

This study focuses on ethnic identity and indigenous identity, which are used as synonyms, referring to the collective sense of belonging to an indigenous group, in this case majorly to the Bribris. National identity is left aside, since the Bribris do not identify themselves to the Costa Rican nation-state in the first place. Cultural identity is used here to refer to the collective as well as to the individual meaning of identity.

4 Methodology

4.1 Data collection through ethnographic methods: participant observation and semi-structured interviews

This research is an empirical study based on gaining knowledge by means of direct and indirect observation and experience. As contrast to theoretical analysis, empirical analysis emphasizes on the collection and analysis methods of the data (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 20). The research draws on qualitative *ethnographic methods*, which is an umbrella term used to describe several methods of data collection, such as interviews, observation and document analysis. The data of this study was collected through *semi-structured interviews* and *participant observation*, which complement each other in gainig deeper knowledge about identity construction in indigenous tourism. Qualitative method is suitable for this kind of ethnographic analysis because it is interested in information, which cannot be measured in numbers.

For the researcher the significance of the method is primarily linked to the fact that it enables to solve the research problem and the differences between various scholarly approaches are mainly technical instead of ideological (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 62). In many ways, research methods, descriptions and results are neither right nor wrong because social science research is simply part of the modern society. The methods of social science are historically changing as well as its subjects. (Alasuutari 2001, 14). There is no pure objective information as all the information is subjective in the sense that the researcher decides of the research frame on grounds of his/her own understanding (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 19). Social research functions as a form of social influence. Sometimes the researchers present predictions for the future, to which policy makers may react in the way that the predictions either way affects the direction of the development, no matter how "incorrect" they are. (Alasuutari 2001, 13-14, 25). This study follows mainly the tradition of Nort American qualitative research approach, which is not a clear ensemble but can be generalized in certain situations. Epistemology is guiding the qualitative research instead of beginning from an ontological specification. In epistemology, reality, truth and information about the world have already been defined and the world is taken for granted as it is. In this sense, American tradition is clearly linked to the tradition of empirial science. (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 43-44).

Ethnographic research

Ethnography refers to the study of cultures through close observation, reading, and interpretation. It has been used much especially in anthropology and in social sciences but nowadays the interdisciplinary and broad basis has led to a varied interpretation of the term. Ethnography can be regarded as a research method or set of methods, where the researcher participates in the everyday life of the subjects intending to provide a detailed, in-depth description of everyday life and practice. Besides being a method, ethnography can be a product of a qualitative research process or seen as an own scientific genre. (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 45). The term *ethnography* stems from the Greek words *ethnos* (= people) and *grapho* (= to write), so literally it means writing about people (ibid. 45). Ethnography is invariably confined to a certain time and space as well as specific actors and situations. Ethnographic research is always unique, because it is based on the researcher's subjective observations and interpretations, which are influenced by our previous experiences, preconceptions and ideas. (Eskola and Suoranta 1998). Ethnography is inevitably somewhat comparing two worldviews, the one of the researcher and the one of the people being researched. The researcher as well as the informants' narratives are always historically and culturally bound (Alasuutari 2001, 74-75).

Ethnographic research has its origins in early explorations, when the disparities of the natives in relation to the European society of that time draw the attention of the explorers. The anthropological research born in 1800s inspired by these descriptions has also been called *Study of the other*. (For more discussion of "the Other" see Said 1978 and Menjivar 2014). At that time, the "primitive" culture was seen as a uniform and homogenous collective although indigenous cultures found in other parts of the world showed fundamental differences. Today the view of primitive cultures waiting to be observed and defined is irreparably out of date. (Alasuutari 2001, 65-66). Instead of looking for differences between the research subjects, ethnographic research focuses on studying the "other" as a whole and finding uniting factors among the subjects. Despite noticing easily the different roles or strategies of individuals, the idea is to interpret the findings in relation to the facts overarching the subjects. (ibid. 67). An ethnographer should describe the world and the social reality as it appears from the perspective of subjects. The purpose of ethnography is to outline the overall picture of the culture being studied and therefore a researcher should not be restricted to a narrow research problem and observe only things considered related to the topic of the study. (Alasuutari 2001, 69).

Participant observation

Observation, where people are observed in natural settings or naturally occurring situations, is one of the most common methods to gather information in qualitative research. Often observation is used together with some other method to gain better knowledge and to tie the phenomenon under research to the right context. In addition, it can broaden the information gained by other methods used. (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 83). Observations as such cannot be regarded as findings but they serve as clues and signs to study aspects of reality, which are not directly observable. The observations are disassembled and these elements are critically reviewed in the light of the existing prerequisites of the world (Alasuutari 2001, 33-34). Observation can be divided into several types: Participant or non-participant, direct or indirect, disguised or undisguised and structured or unstructured. In participant observation, the researcher takes actively part in the activities of the ones being observed and situations of social interaction become a central part of gaining knowledge. However, there exists several opinions about to which extent the researcher should influence the course of events. (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 84).

Semi-structured interview

Besides observation, interview is one of the most widely used qualitative research methods for data collection in many diverse disciplines. It is a flexible method, suitable for a variety of purposes and can be used to obtain in-depth information. The objective of an interview is to study the views, beliefs and motivations of individuals on specific issues. In more conversational interviews, the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee(s) is highlighted and it is possible to approach more delicate themes and find out facts that by other means could be difficult to figure out. (Alasuutari 2001; Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2010). There are three fundamental types of interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured, differing from each other on the degree of their structure. The semi-structured interview is more informal as a structured questionnaire but more structured than an open interview. The semi-structured interview has been inspired by the focused interview (Merton and Kendall 1946).

The research questions are interested in people's own, more profound experiences, which could not be studied in the same way for example through an interview based on a strict questionnaire. The flexibility of it enables the researcher to repeat the question, clarify misunderstandings and expressions and have a continuous dialogue and direct interaction with the respondent (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 75). The semi-structured interview is a suitable

form of interview for example when information is wanted about lesser known phenomena and issues. The popularity of this type of interview stands on its informality and the facility to subsequently analyze the data by dividing it to diverse themes. (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2010). The objective is to go through previously planned themes, which are based on broad familiarization on the subject as well as on earlier studies. The themes are the same for all respondents, although they can be treated in a flexible order without a rigorous structure. Also other topics can arise. (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 77-78; Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2010). It is not necessary to talk about all the topics to the same extent with every person interviewed and the participants can respond in their own words (Eskola and Suoranta 1998). Converting the research topic into a form, which can be studied, is called operationalization. A part from planning the questions, also it is preferable to choose the kind of people who can provide information about the topic under research. The number of interviewees always depends on the purpose of the study, but the basic guideline is to interview as many as is necessary in order to obtain the information necessary. (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2010). On the other hand, the simplicity of the semi-structured interview can be seen as a weakness because it can make the interview treacherous as a method if not planned properly (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 76).

4.2 Ethnographic fieldwork in Yorkín

The main fieldwork was carried out during a seven-week period in the community of Yorkín in April-May 2014. In addition to participant observation and interviews, a number of informal conversations were held and extensive fieldnotes were written daily. All the interviews were conducted in Spanish and no interpreter was needed at any moment. Another short 5-day visit was made to Yorkín in December 2015 while I was doing an internship with the UNDP Small Grants Programme in Panama. During the latter visit no official interviews were made but several informal conversations, observations and fieldnotes add up to the material gathered previously. I consider this visit important despite its short length, because it provided a wider and longer-term perspective to the issue under research. The 6-month internship with the SGP Panama was interesting in the sense that the SGP in Costa Rica had financed the tourism project in Yorkín in the beginning. Anyway, that had nothing to do with my motives to work with SGP. In any case, during those months I familiarized myself a lot more with small-scale tourism projects all over Panama. Although my primary data had already been gathered at that time, I feel that I got a wider perspective of issues indigenous as

well as non-indigenous communities working with tourism deal with in the broader context of Central America.

During the fieldwork period I conducted 24 interviews, which were all recorded for further transcription. Interview themes included background information of the participant and daily tasks, the development of tourism in the community, a wide range of questions related to culture, identity and development, as well as thoughts about the future. The average duration of the interviews was a bit more than one hour, the shortest lasting 25 minutes and the longest 2 hours. 19 of the interviewees were residents of Yorkín, and 4 were personnel of NGOs, and one was a guide. They were interviewed either in the community or in their offices. Of the people interviewed in Yorkín, 14 worked with tourism while 5 had no direct contact with touristic activities. 22 of all the interviews were held individually and two of the interviews had two people, in one case a couple and in the other case a mother and her daughter. Therefore the total number of interviewed people can be considered 26. 15 of the interviewees were men and 11 were women with the age ranging from 15 years to 69 years. The average age of all the interviewees was 37. 22 persons of all the people interviewed considered themselves indigenous, while 4 did not.

Every person interviewed outside the community had a direct relation with tourism on a national level and only one of them had not visited Yorkín, although was familiar with their work. I talked to a guide who had worked in Yorkín as well as representatives of the NGOs ATEC and ACTUAR, who both work with rural community-based tourism in Costa Rica. ATEC is based in the town of Puerto Viejo and ACTUAR has its office in the capital, San Jose. I got informed consent from all the interviewees, which means that all relevant information about what will happen during the research process is explained to the participant and that the subject has understood this information. The participants should be able of making rational assessments on the basis of the information and be aware of their right to refuse to participate. Good research practices require that any research should be, as far as possible, based on participants' freely volunteered informed consent. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2009, 25). I always began the interview situation by explaining my own background, the purpose of the study and for what the information would be used for. I stressed the fact that the interviews were recorded only for my own personal use and that they would be anonymous so that no one can be recognized for what they have said. Everything discussed during the conversation would be confidential.

In the beginning of my stay I focused more on participant observation and general conversations. The interviews were carried out during the second half of my stay, when I had already built up more confidence with the locals and people were more familiar with the objective of my stay in the community. Finding interviewees was not difficult and everyone I asked agreed to be interviewed. Younger people were at first a bit sceptical towards the interviews because they believed it was somekind of a test and were afraid they would not have the right answers. Yet, I explained that there were no right or wrong answers and that I just wanted to know more about their life. Nobody reacted negatively to the recording of the interview. Most of the interviews were done in people's homes or in the premises of the tourist organizations. I let the interviewees choose where they wanted the interview to be done, although in my mind the tranquility factor was always present because of the quality of the recording. On the whole, it seemed that the place had little importance and generally it was selected by convenience. Most of the interviews were made in the evening after people had returned home and completed their daily tasks so they had time and could better focus on the interview.

During my stay I lived together with a local family in their home and took part in the daily life of the community. Days were quite busy and time passed very quickly. Usually, people woke up after 4.30 a.m and went to sleep around 8 p.m., soon after it got dark at 6.30 p.m. I helped to translate documents from Spanish to English and other languages, assisted with some administrative tasks, accompanied some guided tours as a interpreter when the visitors did not know Spanish, helped in cooking and catering for the visitors. That way I also felt I gave something back to the community. Other activities included participating in the annual culture day held in the rural college of Yorkín, taking part in a traditional birthday celebration and attending a 10-day rafting course held for some community-members to become official rafting guides. I also played football with the women almost every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Daily practices included going to someone's plantation and helping with farm work, cooking, bathing in the river, playing domino at night with the neighbors and just discussing about life with people. During my second stay I stayed with the same family in their new home, a 20-minute walk from the community further to the mountains.

At first I found it challenging to adapt into the role of a researcher but quickly learnt to make good use of each opportunity while talking to people. I did not notice any big differences between recorded and informal conversations and people did not seem to feel uncomfortable about the recorder. All the field notes were written by hand and wherever I went I always carried my small notebook with me. During my time in the community I barely touched the computer although it would have been possible to charge it by solar power. In a couple of occasions when I tried working on the computer, there was always someone who came to ask questions about the computer and about what was I writing. On the contrary my notebook, which had a colorful drawing of an octopus on the cover, did not create such interest. In the evening after dark it was also impossible to try writing since the light of the computer drew all kinds of insects.

Talking about the "field" is not straightforward and does not suit nowadays the many existing ethnographic studies. Referring to the "field" is traditionally associated with the notion of a researcher spending a period in another place in contrast to "home". (Alasuutari 2001, 83). Atkinson (1992) describes the "field" as a process of three steps (*a triple constitution of the field*) dividing it to the physical, written and textual fields. The physical field refers to the place where the research is carried out, in this case Costa Rica and Yorkín. The written field consists of all the data gathered from the physical field: interviews, fieldnotes and all leaflets and papers somehow related to the field of study. The textual field is the final written product of the research, formulated through the complex process of data analysis.



Figure 3. The house where I lived during the fieldwork.



Figure 4. Suspension bridge over the river Tskuy.

4.3 Data analysis

Qualitative content analysis was used to analyze the primary data gathered by participant observation and semi-structural interviews. Qualitative content analysis examines the data as an image of reality and is suitable when studying regularities in human experience (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 48-49). Qualitative content analysis can be considered as an individual method or a loose framework that can be linked to different ensembles of analysis (ibid. 93). The recorded interviews were first transcribed and then analyzed along the fieldnotes to get an overall understanding of the material. Along the transcription, data was reduced and sorted by removing all the completely irrelevant parts, such as discussion about music tastes, detailed explanations on preparing some dish etc. Although during fieldwork I always tried to find a relatively peaceful moment to conduct the interviews, many inevitable disturbing factors appeared on the recordings: rain pattering onto tin roof, rush of the river, the radio, children playing, shouting and crying, and animal noises from roosters to frogs. Several interviews were also interrupted at some point by third parties but I tried not to let it affect the overall interview.

The transcribed data was then coded by patterns (see Miles and Huberman 1994, 67; Richards 2005, 93) and classified into the following categories: a) collective indigenous identity and significance of being bribri, b) elements of cultural and ethnic identity, c) presentation of culture for tourists, d) moments of pride and submission, e) other factors affecting the construction of identity besides tourism, f) worries regarding the preservation of culture and identity, g) overall future challenges. Krippendorff (1980, 76) considers this stage more as an art, since little has been written about where the categories come from and how they are defined in qualitative content analysis. I noticed common themes already during fieldwork and after the transcription came to the conclusion that these themes resulted in common characteristics for the majority of the interviews. In addition to these main themes, several subcategories were created to divide the data into smaller content analysis units. The material collected by semi-structured interviews and participant observation is usually abundant and the researcher is unable to make use of all the material and analyze absolutely everything.

Since so far no clear agreed-upon data set-ups among qualitative research, each researcher must come up with his or her own way of analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994, 79). This requires innovative thinking, the ability to sort out large amounts of material, identification of

different entities and levels, and understanding the relevance and interrelations between the data. The themes were systematically displayed in a matrix by each informant and analyzed step by step in order to be able to draw valid conclusions. In the beginning, a holistic framework on ethnic identity was developed because I considered important to do it based on the interviews. After that I focused on the different ways touristic activities had influenced different elements of identity.

Although all the interviews were conducted in Spanish, the field notes were a mix of Finnish, English and Spanish. The data analysis was mostly made in Spanish because it would have made no sense to translate all the transcriptions in English. The final findings were then translated into English. The focus on the analysis was in the content, not in the language used. I have also included many quotes to my work although for example Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002, 22) question the need of using direct quotes and argue that they are only used as examples and to regenerate the body text. In my opinion quotes can endorse the analysis and transmit surprisingly much information that could not necessarily be shaped in other words. The quotes from the interviews are freely translated into English but I considered important to keep also the original Spanish quotes in an annex to avoid any misunderstandings in translations, because language involves a lot of culture-specific meanings that cannot necessarily be turned into another language.

5 Historical context of the Bribris and tourism development in Yorkín

5.1 Position of indigenous people in Costa Rica

Costa Rica is one of the countries with the smallest number of indigenous people in Central and South America (ECLAC 2014). The Bribris' position in present day Costa Rica corresponds in many ways to the general conditions of indigenous people living as ethnic minorities in whole Latin America (Nygren 1998). The current indigenous people in Costa Rica descend from the native people who inhabited the area already prior to European and African contact. During the Spanish colonization in the late 16th century, diseases reduced the indigenous population and slavery and mistreatment drove big part of the remaining the indigenous population to the mountainous region of Talamanca in the southern part of the country. After independence from the Federal Republic of Central America in 1838, Costa Rica has remained politically relatively stable and has ranked among the highest in Latin America for example in the Human Development Index (HDI). Nevertheless, the indigenous population has suffered from exclusion and many indigenous persons were undocumented until the early 1990s despite of the legal articles protecting them. The indigenous people have also had relative little influence on the contemporary Costa Rican culture compared to other Central American countries.

Of the actual population of 4,89 million people (INEC 2016), the last extensive census (INEC 2011) recorded 104,143 inhabitants identifying themselves as indigenous, therefore representing around 2,2% of the national population. 78,073 of these people stated belonging to one of the country's eight indigenous groups while the remaining did not specify their belonging (IWGIA 2016). The indigenous population of Costa Rica grew by 39% between the population census made in 2000 and 2011. In 2000, there were 63 876 indigenous people and in 2011 104,143, meaning a growth of 40,267 persons. The gender division among the indigenous population is relatively equal with 49,7% women and 50,3% men. Of all the indigenous people, 35% live within indigenous territories while 65% live outside territories. (INEC 2011). Since the 2011 census the overall amount of population in Costa Rica has increased, therefore making it difficult to estimate the exact actual percentage of indigenous people.

There are eight indigenous groups living in Costa Rica: Cabecar, Chorotega, Bribri, Brunka or Boruca, Ngäbe-Bugle, Huetar, Teribe and Maleku. They occupy 3,344 km² of the national land, divided into 24 legally recognised and titled different territories (IWGIA 2016, 102; see map of the indigenous territories, page 4). Despite their relatively small percentage, indigenous people constitute a significant share of society with specific collective and individual rights leaning on national as well as international legislation (IWGIA 2016). Although the Bribri reside in both countries Costa Rica and Panama, geographically this study focuses on the Costa Rican side, therefore acting under the laws of Costa Rica.

The indigenous people in Costa Rica have been historically excluded from full participation in the political and economic life of the country and the indigenous people were not given the right to vote until 1994. The indigenous population continues to face discrimination and suffer of social exclusion as well as of less public investment. Schools and healthcare services are not equal to the rest of the country, which in part results from their remote locations. One of the most serious worries is the loss of native lands and there is a permanent struggle to preserve the indigenous heritage and territories. Indigenous territories have continuously been invaded by non-indigenous persons, and the government has not been able to enforce the legislation related to land rights (IWGIA 2016). Many indigenous territories on the Caribbean coast have been occupied for tourism purposes and remain threatened for example with oil exploration and hydroelectric projects. The indigenous reserves have seen little economic development and indigenous groups have organized themselves to demand more government support.

In 1973, the Costa Rican government established the National Commission for Indigenous Affairs (CONAI), whose main objective is to represent the interests of the countries indigenous groups and to facilitate and coordinate their social and economic development. Several indigenous territories were also established during the 70s. In November 1977, Costa Rica adopted the Indigenous Act (Ley Indígena No. 6172), which most importantly protects all indigenous lands in the country, mandating that they can only be reduced by adapting explicit legislation. However, the government has violated this act by diminishing reservations in a few occasions. Costa Rica ratified the International Labour Organization's Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention No. 169 in April 1993. The main purpose of this convention is to secure the equal treatment of indigenous people in relation to other population groups, pursue the survival of indigenous cultures and languages and to press

signatories to consult with native peoples on matters concerning their livelihoods (ILO 1989). The Convention requires States to take measures in order to safeguard the social and economic status of the indigenous population. The ILO Convention No. 169 is currently the only international treaty that deals exclusively with the rights of indigenous people. For example Finland has not up to the present ratified this treaty, although it is regularly debated for ensuring the rights of the indigenous Sámi people who reside in northern parts of Finland, and the neighbouring countries Sweden and Norway. Neither Sweden has ratified the convention while Norway did it already in 1990. In 2007, Costa Rica adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) addressing the human rights and further regulating indigenous matters.

Despite these national and international regulations, Costa Rica remains still not completely committed to protecting its indigenous population. The indigenous movement has become more active and an increasing number of indigenous NGOs have been established to put on pressure on the government to better obey the legislation. Besides agricultural practices several communities have developed tourism projects during recent years to respond the need for alternative income options and address the importance of cultural sustainability (Nel-Lo 2008), although the government support has been minimal (Peralta and Solano 2009).

5.2 The Bribri

The Bribri are an indigenous group and the original inhabitants of the frontier area between Costa Rica and Panama. The Bribri have been studied since the 1970s, for example by Bovallius (1977), Gabb (1978) and Bozzoli (1979) (in Menjívar 2014). In these early anthropological texts regarding the Bribri, they were perceived as exotic and inferior, "as if they were a declining uncivilized people whose territory should be opened up to non-indigenous waves of colonization (Menjívar 2014). Currently, in Costa Rica the Bribri reside predominantly in the southern part of the country, on the Pacific as well as the Atlantic side of the Talamanca mountain range. In Panama, the Bribri are located in the Bocas del Toro province, on the Caribbean side of the central mountain range. In political terms, the Bribri do not recognize the limit of Costa Rica and Panama and many people have the citizenship of both countries. For example children and the young might come to school and college or to receive health services from the Panamanian side to the Costa Rican side. The current

political boundaries are anyhow historically recent comparing to the pre-hispanic occupancy of the ethnic group in the territory.

In Costa Rica the Bribri are the largest of the eight indigenous groups with a total population of 16 938 (INEC 2013), making up 16,3% of the indigenous population. In Panama the Bribri population is around 2500, representing in contrast the smallest indigenous group in the country. The Bribri make up a 1.1% of the whole indigenous population in Panama, where 12,3% of the whole population identify themselves belonging to some ethnic minority. (UNDP 2014). The Bribri live both on reservations and non-protected areas. In Costa Rica, there are four Bribri territories located on both sides of the central mountain range: the Talamanca Bribri and Keköldi on the Atlantic side along the river Sixaola and River Yorkin, and Salitre and Cabagra in the canton of Buenos Aires, located in the Province of Puntarenas, on the Pacific watershed. The Talamanca Bribri reserve was established in 1977 with an extension of 437 km² and population around 6600 (Global Forest Watch 2016). On the Panamanian side, the territory inhabited by the Bribri is not legally recognized as an indigenous territory, unlike the other 5 officially recognized territories in the country (UNDP 2014). The Bribri have persistently been attempting to have their legalized territory also on the Panamanian side, yet with no conclusion. The Bribri recognize their lifestyle and environmental conservation efforts as a central reason to legalize their territory.

According to socio-economic indicators, the region of Talamanca is one of the poorest in Costa Rica, but its forests hold a wealth of huge biological diversity. Bribri communities are generally located near rivers and streams, on which they have relied upon in most of their activities: transportation, making food, fishing, cleaning and bathing (Posas 2013). Traditionally, the Bribris were hunter-gatherers and relied on a bartering system, which has gradually lost importance, although the Bribri are still relatively self-sufficient. Nowadays the majority relies on small-scale agriculture. Cocoa, banana and plantain are largely grown for sale whereas beans, rice, corn and a variety of other crops are produced mostly for their own consumption. The Bribris agricultural system can be referred to as an agropastoral system, where in addition to cultivating plants, many families own some livestock, such as chickens, turkeys, pigs and horses (Posas 2013). According to Nygren (1998), agriculture has only quite recently replaced hunting, fishing and gathering while Posas (2013) states the importance of the multifaceted agricultural system dating already from a long time ago.

The Bribri have their own language, Bribri, which belongs to the South American Chibcha language group. Some of the more remote communities still speak only Bribri language but in many communities Spanish is more widely spoken and many young people know only the basics of Bribri. The social structure of the Bribri is based on clans, of which each is composed of an extended family. Women have always had a very important role in the Bribri culture and society because of the matrilineal clan system, which means that the clan of the mother always determines the clan of the child. Women are also the only ones who can for example officially prepare the sacred cacao drink central for the rituals. Only women have traditionally been able to inherit land as land has been considered as a form of clan property. Anyone belonging to the clan through the maternal line has had the right to use the lands, although nowadays families instead of clans, tend to own parcels. (Posas 2013).

The Bribri have their own cosmology and code of ethics and philosophy called Siwá, which consists of teachings and explanations of the natural and supernatural world. The Bribri believe that they descend from seeds a grain of corn planted by Sibö, who is the God for the Bribri. Sibö threw the grains from the Namásul Mountain, which germinated the clans of Talamanca. (Palmer et al. 1993). The Shamans "Awapa" are traditional doctors who are in charge of the physical as well as the spiritual health of the Bribri. Only members of a certain clan can become Awa. Training takes a long time and it starts already from a young age. The center of spiritual practice is the "casa conica", conical house, which represents a symbolic construction of the universe with its eight pillars symbolizing different animals. For celebrations the Bribri dance "Sorbón", a dance where men and women form a large circle representing solidarity and belonging to the land. The dance is normally accompanied by chicha, a fermented corn drink with a little bit of alcohol. Conserving the nature has traditionally been a central part of the Bribri culture. The Bribri use the Spanish word "cuidar" (to care), which in the cosmology of the Bribri means to feel and be part of the creation, not outside it. The word "cuidar" represents the commitment to fulfill a responsibility. It derives from the fact that everything created has an owner who is responsible of maintaining an order and balance with the use and we must be accountable for our abuses against nature (Stibrawpa 2008).

5.3 The community of Yorkín

The community of Yorkín is located in the Bribri indigenous territory of Talamanca, Costa Rica. The region has for long been relatively inaccessible and it can be seen as a point of convergence of important biological and cultural values. The community is situated along the River Yorkín, which is a natural border between Costa Rica and Panama. The landscape is mountainous and mostly covered by lush rainforest. It is estimated that of the communal Bribri territory of 1500 hectares, 50% is covered by forest (Stibrawpa 2008). Yorkín is located in the proximity of La Amistad International Park (Parque Internacional La Amistad, PILA), a trans-boundary biosphere reserve split between Costa Rica and Panama, also designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1982.



Figure 5. Wooden canoes used for fluvial transportation

To reach the community you must navigate upstream the River Yorkín around 45 minutes by a dugout canoe with motor from Bambú, also known as Bratsi. There is also a dirt road built recently by the government, which many people use to walk or ride a horse up to the community. The road is around 6 kilometers long starting from Bambú after crossing the river Telire by boat and ending in Yorkín. In 2013 during the actual fieldwork period, there was a "taxi car" run by a non-community member taking people from the community to the river crossing almost daily. However, the dirt road is very dependent on weather conditions and during rainy periods it is impossible to make the journey by car. In addition, the road

crosses two rivers, so when the water level is high making it by car is difficult. During the second visit to the community in December 2015, the car was no longer running since it was broken at the moment and there were no plans so far to repair it or replace it with a new one. Before, the only means to get to the community was to either walk through a small path, which is now replaced by the dirtroad, or travel by a dugout canoe along the river for several hours. Nowadays the majority of the boats have a motor, which makes the trip to the community a lot faster and has increased the mobility of people. Some agricultural products are still transported downstream without motor. There are a couple of other communities further up in the mountains and the only way to get there is by foot, by horse or by dugout canoe when there is enough water in the river.

The economy in Yorkín has traditionally been based on subsistence farming and selling organic cocoa, plantains and bananas. In addition people grow other crops such as rice, yucca, beans and taro (*ñampí* in Spanish) but mostly for their own consumption. In the late 19th century the Talamanca region became one of the leading areas worldwide for commercial banana companies (e.g. United Fruit Company), occupying parts of the indigenous territory (see Palmer 2005; Posas 2013). Before some men from Yorkín used to work in the plantations but many got sick due to the pesticides used in fumigation. Men had to travel for work and stayed away from their families during the week. Sometimes the money earned was spent in bars, "*cantinas*", instead of using it for the benefit of the family. At the moment nobody from Yorkín worked for the banana companies anymore. In 1978 Yorkín suffered from an economic crisis due to a fast-spreading plant disease, *monilia pod rot*, which destroyed the majority of the cacao plantations and left people without the major income source for a long time (Posas 2013). This was a beginning point of tourism, which has up to date become a major income source for the community besides agriculture.

There are around 250 inhabitants living within the boundaries of Yorkín. There is not really any center in the community and houses are mostly scattered around the area with small paths linking them to each other. Population has grown fast and the amount of houses has increased. The village has a primary and a secondary school as well as a small health post, which is normally open once a week when doctors come from elsewhere to attend patients. There is no electricity in the village but a couple of houses have solar panels and electrical plants. Only a couple of houses have televisions, which were used for example to watch football games. There were three small kiosks in 2013 selling basic goods (toilet paper,

batteries, sugar, salt, oil, cookies etc.) of which one had a refrigerator working with gas, therefore selling cold drinks.

Most of the houses are made using natural resources from the forest although the amount of new type of houses had increased considerably since the first visit in 2013. A traditional house is built out of wood and the roof is made from reforested palm leaves (*hoja de suita*), tied together by vines and other plant fibers. The roof needs to be changed approximately every 6 years. Houses are open with air running through, which is necessary when cooking on a fireplace. The smoke in fact helps to protect the roof prolonging its durability. Traditionally houses are left natural-coloured and they are built higher off the ground. There are only a few families that speak Bribri fluently; otherwise Spanish is the main language in the community. Many people still know the greetings, numbers and basic phrases in Bribri.



Figure 6. The primary school of Yorkín



Figure 7. The secondary school of Yorkín

5.4 Tourism history and development in Yorkín

Organizational development and tourism activity have already a long history in Yorkín, although it has taken a lot of planning and learning for tourism to develop to the point where it is now. Tourism has become a viable alternative to respond to the lack of employment opportunities in the community, becoming a central source of income to diversify the economy of the locals. To describe the type of tourism practiced in Yorkín, people used mainly the concept of community-based rural tourism (*turismo rural comunitario*) but also concepts such as community ecotourism, ecological community-based tourism or ethno-ecotourism.

Originally the idea of organizing themselves came from the women in Yorkín already in 1985. Women in the community wanted to do something with the aim of tackling the economic crisis caused by the monilia disease ruining the cacao crops complicating the life of the their families. At the same time they felt that their traditional culture and customs were losing importance and something must be done about it. The organization Stibrawpa, which in Bribri language means artisan women, began it's work initially on the 5th of July in 1992, when they were donated a small piece of land with the aim to build the "Casa de las Mujeres" (House of Women). Initially, these women started as a women's committee as part of the association ASOPRODEAY, Asociación Pro Desarrollo Àgricola y Económica de Yorkín, founded by a group of men in 1992. Eventually after three years of function, the association was disintegrated due to difficulties in its management.

Stibrawpa started with the leadership of the three woman founders, who soon gained the support of several women. Men were often forced to leave the community to seek for employment elsewhere, mainly at the banana plantations. The work in the plantations was risky for health because of the use of agrochemicals and many men returned back with severe health problems. Women were left alone to look after the children and take care of the housework and the agricultural activities without the support of the men. In a few cases the distance and the challenging situation in general lead to the disintegration of some families. People did not speak Bribri that much anymore and traditional knowledge of plants and history were disappearing.

In 1993 ANAI, Asociación Nacional de Alcaldías e Intendencias supported the group in training and developing project proposals. In March 1994, Stibrawpa started the construction of an office, which was interrupted by the lack of materials. They presented a project proposal to the UNDP Small Grants Programme, which was eventually approved in October 1994. With this project, the "House of Women" was built, although it took three years because of disagreements that occurred with the men. The House of Women became a popular meeting place and it was used for different workshops and to make handicrafts, which were sold to tourists mainly in the coastal town of Puerto Viejo. The beginning was difficult since the women had to leave the community to sell their handicrafts, which created conflicts within the families. In the end it brought little economical benefits because big part of the money earned was spent on transportation and lodging. Also the capacity to manage and administrate the project was limited, which lead to organizational problems and the resignation of the initial members of the organization. Disagreements were related to the organizational structure, participation of new members, leadership and fund management.



Figure 8. Crafts made for sale for tourists.

The idea of rather bringing visitors to their community to buy their crafts instead of the women having to travel to sell them and leave their families emerged little by little. The women thought it could also help to reduce the tension with the men and make family life more stable. They believed tourism could offer an economic alternative for families and help to preserve their culture and identity. As the people were used to working in agriculture, it took a while to learn how to manage with tourists and realize that their cultural identity, natural heritage and hospitality of the people were actually attractive to visitors. During the same year, they submitted a proposal to Project Namasol (Desarrollo Sostenible de los Territorios Indígenas en Talamanca) funded by Holland and the Ministry of Labour, obtaining the financing to build a suspension bridge over the River Tskuy. Together with nine other organizations from the Talamanca region, Stibrawpa created a network of community-based ecotourism (Red Talamanca de Ecoturismo Comunitario, RTEC), which enabled the organization to establish alliances beyond their own community.

In the end of the 90s, the organization decided to work one year without paying the members, which helped them to save money to purchase a terrain of 1 hectare of cocoa and other crops. This allowed them to broaden their territory and start looking for possibilities to extend their facilities to be able to accommodate more visitors and provide better service. This motivated also other community-members to join the organization. Stibrawpa was finally legally constituted as a formal organization before the Public Record on the 31th of August 2001. Still they had some issues that influenced their work, such as the lack of tourism infrastructure to meet different types of customers, the small amount of visitors, the growing envy towards the organization in the community because the relationship between tourism and community development was unclear. In addition there was an urgent need to receive more training and organizational strengthening.

With the remaining funds of the previous project with SGP, Stibrawpa built a bigger cabin together with ANAI, VALDESOL S.A (Firma Consultora para el diseño de planos arquitectónicos y servicios de ingeniería) and Colorado Community Church in 2005. The organization funded the expansion of the college as well as helped repairing the aqueduct. The men were now also allowed to integrate to the organization, which aimed to improve the gender relations within families. Although women have run the organization from the beginning and still only women belong to the board, men play an important part in the organization working for example as boatmen, guides and guardians.

In November 23th of 2008, the whole community was confronted by a new crisis, when several weeks of heavy rains caused extensive flooding. The flood destroyed a big area of farmland and the water system. The recently built guesthouses and the bathrooms were almost completely washed away. The kitchen and meeting room were not affected that severely. Almost all the equipment including solar panels and the records of the organization were lost. The community health post was filled with mud and sand. Also canoes were lost, the soccer field was gone as well as the suspension bridge and many trails. The flood altered significantly the courses of the rivers Yorkín and Tskuy and the rivers were widened. However, luckily no lives were lost. This discouraged the people but with the support and donations of several organizations the community was able to little by little cover the losses and rebuild the destroyed infrastructure. The need for a new health clinic was urgent and it was built in a safer place. The new guesthouse was named "Casa Verde", which had six rooms and could accommodate up to 15 people. Volunteers from Canada and The United States helped in the process.

In the process, the tourism organization was divided and another organization called Aventuras Naturales was established. Nowadays both Stibrawpa and Aventuras Naturales keep working with tourism in the community. The main goal of both organizations is to conserve the natural environment and the Bribri cultural traditions through tourism. While Aventuras Naturales Yorkín is a family-run organization, the members of Stibrawpa consist from various families in the community.

5.5 Yorkín for tourists

Culture and the natural environment are regarded as the main elements attracting visitors to Yorkín. The majority of the visitors are international, coming mainly from Germany, France, Spain and the United States, while nationals and people from neighboring countries hardly visit the community as tourists. International tourists tend to be more attracted in visiting indigenous tourism ventures than nationals or people from neighbouring countries with cultural similarities (Pereiro 2015). Both tourism organizations work with several organizations, e.g. ATEC and ACTUAR, selling different types of tours for visitors. Tourists stay normally from 1 up to 3 days in the community and the price depends on the activities included in the package. The visit in the community is aimed to be an intercultural educational experience, where the guests can learn from the hosts and vice versa.

The majority of the visitors arrive to the community by a motorized dugout canoe, which is considered central part of the overall visitor experience. Tourists are lodged in traditional-style built guesthouses with rooms equipped with basics. Nature-based activities include walks in the forest for example to the near-by waterfall, bathing in the river, learning about the flora and fauna as well as on organic cultivations of banana, cocoa, plantain and medicinal herbs. Normally all visitors are told about the history of tourism in the community and some stories in Bribri language. Cultural activities play a central role during the visit. Depending on the tour, tourists are shown and given the opportunity to participate in the process of preparing chocolate from cocoa fruit, making of the traditional roof with leaves and shooting with a bow and an arrow. Food is prepared on a fireplace mostly from ingredients grown in the community. Handicrafts, such as bracelets, necklaces and objects carved out of wood or calabass are put on display and the profit goes directly to the person who has made the item.

Sometimes the community also receives volunteers for different periods of times as well as national and international school groups, who have helped for example in construction and teaching English. Normally these volunteers are lodged in families. Visitors are reminded that they are in an indigenous territory with certain rules to be followed. Tourists are asked to use water economically and be conscious while using the water resources. Alcoholic beverages are not sold in either of the tourism organizations.



Figure 9. Making of a roof with leaves.



Figure 10. Cocoa beans being toasted on a fireplace used for cooking.



Figure 11. Making of the chocolate. In the first picture nibs are taken off from the toasted cocoa beans. The second picture shows how cocoa nibs are ground. Then the paste is mixed with condensed milk and offered for tourists with banana.

6 Reconstructing the Bribri identity through tourism

6.1 Formation of identity and understanding self through the other

Categorization

The three stages of social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979), categorization, identification and comparison, can help to understand the formation of identity among community-members in Yorkín in relation to the tourists as well as the dynamic between the indigenous hosts and the visitors. The interviewees categorization of different stereotypical groups can be observed on several levels. The broad categorization divides the world in two, indigenous "us" and the rest of the world "them", often referred to as *blancos*, whites or *siqua*, which in the Bribri language means white people, foreigners or strangers (Nygren 1998). At the community-level this dualistic division occurs between tourists and the locals. Tourists can be further classified into foreign and national tourists or *siquas*, which I was explained, is more used to describe non-indigenous Costa Ricans rather than foreign visitors. For example I was not considered *siqua* because I was not Costa Rican. Different nationalities adopt stereotypes shaped by the previous experiences with tourists. For example Germans were seen as very strict, respecting schedules, and easily offended if things did not go as planned.

All the 21 informants interviewed in Yorkín, categorized themselves as indigenous and expressed a strong ethnic awareness of belonging to an indigenous group. Besides being indigenous, the interviewees simultaneously identified themselves belonging to other groups for example according to their tribe, clan, gender, age and/or place of residence (rural/urban). 19 persons identified themselves as Bribri while 2 were of Naso descent. The Bribris have for long mixed with neighboring groups and some people living in Yorkín are of origin Naso, who live on the panamanian side. The Nasos have their own language and are for example one of the few indigenous groups in the Americas that have a monarchy. Although the Bribri and Naso -cultures differ from each other in several ways, they have much in common in their lifestyle because of their mutual history in the area. Being indigenous was described as being original, unique and different in contrast to the others.

Despite representing different tribes, being indigenous is the common denominator. The feeling of collective indigenous identity and shared view of belonging to a larger group came up clearly: "*I don't feel Bribri because I have no clan and I don't feel Bribri because I don't*

... speak Bribri, whereas I do speak and understand Naso and know everything about it because I was raised there. For me the most important thing is to be indigenous. You can be from anywhere, but you are indigenous" (Woman 39, 4N39YIT)ⁱ. Several endogenous as well as exogenous factors related to a broader social, cultural and historical context, influence behind the formation of identity and social categorization. Most importantly, the only way to understand the present day situation of indigenous peoples is to look at it as a historic outcome of the process that began with the arrival of Europeans more than five centuries ago (ECLAC 2014, 11). The ethnic reconstruction process of the Bribri is viewed as a dynamic historical process where the interpretations of colonization and indigenous people are socially and culturally constructed (Nygren 1998). The postcolonial struggles for ethnic identity among Native Americans underlines the active "retelling" of the past, where the Indians construct themselves not as indigenous others but as people who have been mediated by colonialism for hundreds of years (ibid.).

The historical weight is firmly present in people's minds influencing the process of categorization. Strong negative stereotypes associated to history were central arguments also in the opposition of tourism development in the beginning. *"We have been mistreated by the people of the city. They have stolen all this; they have taken this and that. And we are the ones who receive the less. So people were afraid of that, and thus did not see tourism as interesting. They did not want that, because still people take advantage of us."* (Woman 43, 1N43YIT)ⁱⁱ. Historical references pointed out to the global spectrum as well as to the national governments' practices towards indigenous people. The Costa Rican political discourse has for long quite simply determined the meaning of being indigenous. A part from being of indigenous origin or speaking an indigenous language as a mother tongue, being indigenous has meant to be spared with a certain livelihood, practices and cultural characteristics; in other words to be savage, primitive and uncivilized (Nygren 1998). Other influence behind categorization included family inheritance, which among the Bribri is maintained through oral tradition. Traditional knowledge is commonly transmitted from older generations to the younger ones. Respect for the elders is high in the sense that they possess unique information about cultural traditions, which is continuously becoming more scarce.

Identification

By identification, the individual adopts common patterns of behaviour typical to the group the persons regards belonging to. Group membership generates common forms of acting and sense of affecting importance emblematic to the group. (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Indigenous people worldwide are generally identified by common cultural, behavioral, linguistic, ritualistic and religious characters. Among the interviewees, ethnic identity was seen as a holistic construct, strongly interconnected with all cultural practices. This comprehensive idea of identity is an aspect that distinguishes the indigenous view from the contemporary concept of identity in the modern worldview.

Even though each indigenous group has their own characteristics, the collective ethnic identity of being indigenous goes far beyond the community. Common aspects, which the interviewees considered typical for them as indigenous people include territory, relationship with land and nature, language and beliefs, norms and values, race and kinship, community, and traditional cultural practices. The own territory is fundamental from the point of view of belonging and adopting a sense of place, and does not necessarily underscore state boundaries. *"This is indigenous territory; that's why I say it's another Costa Rica. Costa Rica is over there in San José. This is another Costa Rica, that's how it is. But anyway we vote when we have to vote, sometimes even on both sides (Costa Rica and Panama)." (Man 23, 12M23YIT)ⁱⁱⁱ*. Habitually, the close relationship with land and nature is considered vital in the preservation of culture and identities. *"We live with nature, throughout the world; the indigenous people living all over the world are the first to care for nature. That does not change. We can differ in other things, such as food, the way we organize ourselves, the rituals. But with nature we are all alike."* (Woman 43, 1N43YIT)^{iv}.

All informants regarded the Bribri language as a decisive means of distinguishing them from others. However, the definition of knowing the language varied significantly among the community-members. As the majority of people in the community do not speak fluent Bribri, this is a constant threshold affecting their self-perception. Language was almost lost when the first teachers came to the area from the capital and spoke only Spanish. As they didn't know the Bribri language, also the locals were restrained from using their language and forced to speak Spanish. Indigenous languages were considered inferior, therefore people avoided speaking them in public. Knowledge of Bribri slowly deteriorated affecting nearly the whole

present day Bribri population. Many of the older generation forgot their language and the actual younger generation has limited knowledge of Bribri. The language policy has witnessed a huge change and nowadays in turn, Bribri is again actively taught in schools and recently a law was approved, that in order to be a teacher on the indigenous territory, the person must know Bribri. In Yorkín, the responsibility of explaining about the history and telling stories for tourists in Bribri, is left on the shoulders of a few persons that speak fluent Bribri and have a broader knowledge of the legends. Although tourism has been a driving force of strengthening language skills, the potential of tourism in increasing the knowledge of Bribri has not been much utilized. Language has been little discussed in the academic literature of indigenous tourism, taken into account its essential role in the identification of many indigenous groups (Whitney-Squire 2016). Besides territory, land and language, community spirit, equality and a common pattern of thought were regarded central values and norms of being indigenous. External physical characters of the locals in contrast to the "white", and kinship appeared also as distinguishing elements.

Indigenous identity is not an isolated nor self-regulated matter but a mixture of complex macro- and microscale processes (Nygren 1998). In Yorkín, despite collective indigenous identity being firm, it is not self-evident due to several reasons. The indigeneity was questioned by several interviewees because of limited knowledge of the Bribri language, loss of beliefs, the lack of a *casa cónica*, a conical house, which is a symbolic representation of the world for the Bribri, as well as the absence of an *Awa*, a Shaman. The community has not had neither a conical house nor a shaman for a long time, but many felt that those could strengthen their identity and help in recovering important cultural values. Still, the majority of the informants felt strong pride of being indigenous. *"The Indian is proud, it's a proud word, I am indigenous, I was born here, and since God founded the earth the Indian was born in it. When God created the world, the Indian was put on it first."* (Man 69, 2M69YINT)^v. Further, belonging to a certain tribe, in this case the Bribris or the Naso, increased the feeling of uniqueness of the person. *"We are proud to be Bribris because we are the only ones; no one else can say that they have the same name. It has always been like that."* (Woman 43, 1N43YIT)^{vi}.

Comparison

Stressing the difference between the indigenous hosts and the guests is a central way of treating questions related to identity. Typical elements behind the collective sense of belonging to indigenous group, identified in the stage of identification, are then compared to the behaviour and actions of another group, in this case the tourists. Situating the own position happens through stereotypical images of the others. Comparison occurs not only with tourists but also with "white" other Costa Ricans on a broader scale. Comparison with tourists is largely realized through the surrounding environment and everyday practices. Originally, the beginning of the women selling handicrafts for tourists can be regarded as the first step in the long process of identity reconstruction related to tourism, which still continues.

Locals discussions with tourists tend to be relatively superficial partly due to language barriers. Themes discussed include people's personal background, place of residence as well as the habits of the country people come from, like language, customs and landscape. In the interviews, informants pictured the everyday life of tourists visiting their community mainly by highlighting negative physical and psychological aspects, such as the lack of nature, problems related to everyday life in the city, pollution, commercialization, as well as rush pressure and stress. The urban life was juxtaposed with rural life, putting greater value on the latter. Notably, visitors play a central part in this dialogue by bringing forward more negative aspects of their life, while dismissing the positive ones. Instead, the local way of life is praised as more genuine by the visitors. Therefore visitors take actively part in the comparison between hosts and guests. This can occur for instance due to the increased appreciation towards traditional lifestyle of indigenous people and critique towards the modern way of life, or discretion towards the locals to compliment their habits. Visitors may not feel the same kind of need to strengthen their position through identifying themselves belonging to a specific group.

Underlining negative features of other groups to raise the status of the own group and the exaggeration of similarities and differences is typical for social identity theory. At strongest, it can even have signs of ethnocentrism, where the way of the own group is viewed as superior to others, who are judged inferior. Elements of identity formation get a partial meaning of either good or bad and romanticizing the indigenous lifestyle happens actively

through mutual discourse with the visitors. In Nygrens (1998) analysis of the Bribri ethnic reconstruction, it is evident that also the Bribri are central actor in constructing the "other" in the game between the "native" and the "stranger".

6.2 Adopting the identity and behavior of a "legitimate Indian"

Instead of defining what does it mean to be indigenous, it seemed easier for many informants to determine what is certainly not considered being indigenous. The difficulty lies in defining what is acceptable, how should it be performed, in which situations, and why. Especially among those working with tourism, there is a relatively explicit image about what is not socially acceptable for indigenous people as well as how indigeneity should be expressed in front of tourists. Informants who were not working with tourists did not express same kind of feelings and tended to be somewhat more relaxed about themselves. Although the informants did have a picture of the typical Bribri conducting in a certain way, individuals did not necessarily follow these behavior patterns. Several contradictory practices, related to what was believed tourists want to see and do not want to see, were discussed in the interviews.

Two younger informants told that they like listening to music with headphones but tend not to do it in front of tourists because visitors might view it in a negative way. They recognized the issue themselves but did not see it as a problem until they had been complained about this several times from behalf of people working with tourists. *"They do not come to see me walking with headphones. Of course I do so but I do it in a place where they don't see me, or later in the evening."* (Man 22, 18M22YIT)^{vii}. Also the use of jewellery, tattoos or make-up was considered not suitable for indigenous people. *"If I'm here with a big gold chain, all visitors will say that this is not an Indian. In the case of women, if they wear make-up, they will say this is not an Indian."* (Man 22, 18M22YIT)^{viii}. Older people thought young people were more likely to imit tourists but the influence of overall mainstream culture was seen way more powerful than influence of tourists. *"Nobody has changed because of tourism, that comes because they want to be like Daddy Yankee, young people most of all, because of my age not anymore."* (Man 31, 17M31YIT)^{ix}.

Another theme was the indigenous people's use of alcohol. At the time of fieldwork, alcohol was not openly sold in the community and excessive use was viewed negatively. Locals drank their home-made *chica*, a fermented maize beverage, mainly only during special occasions, like birthdays or other festivities. Some people had their own liquor bottles at

home or had a beer every now and then, but drinking was not open, especially in front of tourists. If tourists wanted to have a drink, they were told to bring their alcohol with them. In a few occasions tourists had gotten drunk, which was viewed in a negative light by the locals. During the second visit to the community, I took part in a Sunday football game, like I had done a number of times during the fieldwork period. This time there was a striking difference in the use of alcohol. The game was held in a neighboring community, where a small shop had been recently opened. The loud generator was on all day to cool down the beers and soft drinks. Visibly a lot of money was spent on all types of beverages, which also showed in the amount of trash after the game had ended. This could have been because of the charm of novelty of the shop being just opened; it was christmas time so people were less occupied and had possibly more money to spend; or, that it was a sign of broader change. However, this reminded me about a comment by one non-indigenous Costa Rican interviewee regarding the stereotypical image of indigenous people and his visit to Yorkín: *"I will confess something. In the indigenous area I know, they are like very lazy, they don't do much, only drink and treat women badly, children are in poor conditions; that's why I was expecting something similar here, but in reality I found a community, which is totally different."* (Man 40, 20M40NYNIT)^x. Despite the fact that all interviewees saw the use of alcohol majorly as a negative threat for their culture, visible practices showed the opposite.

Expressing ones' personal identity is partly limited in order to avoid negative influence on the identity of the whole group, which occurred especially from the point of view of tourism. Thus, tourism puts pressure on reproducing the the identity of "traditional" indigenous people rather than accepting the dynamic nature of changing identities.

6.3 Strategic nature and flexibility of indigenous identity

Beyond being a way of self-identification, indigenous identity has become an instrument, flexibly treated in different situations. It is adopted as an important means of power, used politically to achieve certain goals. Indigenous people themselves seem to be very conscious about how to exercise their position and the possibilities their identity can create. This strategic importance of being indigenous and the ability to use identity to justify claiming rights, has become a topic of recent academic discussion (Bauer 2010; Bolanos 2011). The capacity of indigenous people to take strategic advantage of their identity has been called "professional primitivism" (Bastin 2003), where identity is used to make a living. This view classifies also tourism under professional primitivism.

The importance of possessing a legal indigenous status in front of the government is evident: *"Of course being indigenous is an advantage because there are many laws that protect us."* (Man 36, 5M36YIT)^{xi}. There are many occasions when it is an advantage to be indigenous, as explained by one informant *"They realize that culture is important when it's convenient. When it's convenient, that's when I say I'm an Indian but when it's not, I say I'm not an Indian. For example it is convenient if you need to go to the doctor and the doctor will let you pass first, for instance. That's when it's worth to be Bribri. Or for example, if I go to school, to become a teacher you have to speak Bribri and be a Bribri with a clan. Otherwise you cannot become a teacher, that's when I find a way to speak Bribri and how to be a Bribri. Or, when the government is giving some incentive, for example for indigenous women, everybody wants to be indigenous in order to receive from the government. That's when it's convenient to be Bribri."* (Man 23, 12M23YIT)^{xii}.

Receiving support from the government can be in contradiction with the will of cultural preservation. Therefore taking advantage of being indigenous might eventually work against itself in maintaining the ethnic identity, as shown in the following example from Yorkin on the construction of new houses financed by the government. People can apply to a housing program directed for indigenous people (Programa de Vivienda Indígena, PVI) of the Ministry of Housing and Human Settlements (Ministerio de Vivienda y Asentamientos Humanos, MIVAH) and if approved, they are donated a house. From the point of view of the government, this meant taking measures to improve indigenous peoples standards of living. These new houses are quite different from traditional Bribri houses: They are closed with no air running through and therefore impossible to make fire for cooking inside the house, which has increased the use of gas in preparing food. The roofs are tin instead of leaves, which makes the house very hot when the sun is heating. In addition, most houses are built exactly by the same model and painted with bright colors, which is not typical to the Bribri culture favoring natural colors.

In the interviews, almost everyone brought up the importance of living in traditional-style houses with the roof made of leaves and a fireplace for cooking, which were considered as fundamental things that would not change. *"Customs, the way we speak the language, will not be lost, the way we live in houses with roofs made from leaves either, all that we maintain."* (Woman 42, 16N42YIT)^{xiii}. However, between the first and second visit, the amount of new houses had significantly increased. Moving from a traditional styled house to

a new house actually meant a big difference for everyday life. *"They make us live like the people from outside live. Not anymore like I am used to living, but I am being acculturated to the way of the siquas. If it is necessary to make the change for convenience, because we are given a donation, I will accept it, I will not deny it either."* (Man 45, 9M45YIT)^{xiv}.

Either the informants did not speak completely honestly, or then their opinions had significantly changed in a short time. Not fully understanding the consequences of living in a new houses would have been curious, because some community-members had previous experience of these houses being unpractical due to the heat and the limited possibility of cooking. During my first visit to Yorkín, some of the people who already at that time had been donated a house, were building or planned to build another house following the traditional style next to the new one, because people wanted an open shelter to cook and to hang out. Taken into account the previous experiences, accepting more of these new houses resulted confusing from my point of view because it was so clearly in contradiction with the earlier observations. It is also important to note here, that the objective is not to judge whether accepting new houses was good or bad, but to reflect it upon the data and analyze it along the debate about what kind of implications it can have from the perspective of tourism and identity.



Figure 12. Old and new style architecture



Figure 13. New house donated by the government

However, people might have accepted these houses because of the lack of options given about the style of the house. I was told, that people got to choose only between concrete and wood without further consultation. The reality is, that due to the climate, houses need to be renewed on a regular basis and renovating houses is a heavy task. Or then, houses were accepted because of economic convenience and people did not want to deny the offer of something donated for free. The consequences can be contradictory from the point of view of tourism, but in some cases personal interests can go beyond the objectives of tourism. Most surprising was, that several of those persons that had earlier stated the value of traditional houses and who were actively part in tourism activities, now had a new house beside the old one. This is a good practical example of how broader questions treated in this study about perceptions of development, cultural preservation and performance as well as tourism and identity come together.

Although generally done for good purposes, different development programmes in line with neo-liberal market economy can put more pressure on indigenous groups to maintain their identity (Attanapola and Lund 2013). Especially in the case of tourism, these kinds of development projects can work against the indigenous tourism product. New houses are a visible change, that can not be left without notice by the tourists either. Authenticity of the tourist experience may suffer and the locals need to find new ways of describing the reality of the community for visitors. Staging culture for tourism purposes may become to question in order to maintain culture as the central attraction for visitors, because eventually visible changes in the community do not correspond to the what is told for tourists about how the Bribris maintain their traditions. The possible outcome in the long run may be, that "development" can reduce tourism.

Besides situations, where indigeneity is an advantage, there are still many occasions where the informants told they would rather not conceal their identity. It occurs mainly in situations, where people feel the possible fear of discrimination and hierarchy. This again is commonly related to the geographical location, because outside their territory people feel more vulnerable than on their own territory. *"For example, when I meet the president Laura Chinchilla, it is not worth to say, neither do I want to say I'm a Bribrí because I don't know. I've seen that happen but I don't know. Or with some deputy or some lawyer I don't know who. I don't want to be Bribrí because I feel more vulnerable than the big people, I don't*

know why. That's what I have seen." (Man 23, 12M23YIT)^{xv}. Based on the interviews, the younger generation is more likely to want to cover their ethnic identity. *"Some young people are ashamed of their cultural identity, it's important to appreciate that. I don't know why are they embarrassed. Here, there are not many but in other communities, the Bribris, when they go to San José they no longer want to speak Bribri, they don't speak Bribri there."* (Man 45, 9M45YIT)^{xvi}. Tourism occurs in the interviewees own territory, where for example the professional background of the visitors loses its importance, reducing any kind of mental construct of hierarchy between people. The fear of discrimination is low, because visitors interested in this sort of tourism usually have a certain type of a mind set to start with. Rather visitors are almost implied how "wrong" their urban lifestyle is compared to the close to nature -life of the Bribris. Locals have the ultimate power of the situation. As stated by Nygren (1998), it is implied that despite of the power of the whites, they have no possibility to ever become legitimate Indians.

6.4 Increased self-esteem and cultural pride versus discrimination

Tourism had influenced the interviewees identity mainly in a positive way by increasing cultural pride and appreciation of personal skills, but there have also been moments of relative deprivation. I was explained that the Bribris have traditionally a rather closed character and part of the identity is being reserved and discreet. *"The indigenous culture, we are very us, very protected, we don't talk much, we talk with each other but we do not want to socialize."* (Woman 29, 21N29NYIT)^{xvii}. This easily caused cultural misunderstandings with the visitors because being quiet was quickly mistaken as being rood. For example the boatmen had been complained about not discussing enough with the tourists on the way to the community. Eating habits of the Bribri are another good example: everybody takes food on their plates and goes to a suitable place to eat instead of all eating together around a table. Visitors had repeatedly questioned this practice interpreted often as inferiority or shame. *"Because the Indian is always like that. To eat, I grab a dish and go inside there to eat. I've always had that habit. But now I've lost a bit of that shame and I go and eat with the visitors and talk to them like they were family. I treat them all like they were from the same family, I talk to them and I can eat together with them."* (Man 58, 7M58YIT)^{xviii}.

It had taken a long time for the locals to understand the viewpoint of the visitors and changing the normal character had required considerable personal efforts. Opening up had brought more confidence and incremented self-esteem. Visitors interest towards the locals had given more cultural pride and taught to value things that had earlier been considered indifferent. Several informants mentioned, that they feel happy and proud telling about their customs for tourists. *"I try to promote it as much as I can, draw their attention so that they notice that what is ahead of them is of important value."* (Man 45, 9M45YIT)^{xix}. Some were willing to talk openly about everything, while others considered some rituals and traditional knowledge, such as information on medicinal plants, more private. Tourism had increased especially the empowerment of women and positively influenced the identity of women as a group. Although women have always had a strong position in the Bribri culture, *machismo* was long present in everyday life. In the beginning of the tourism activity, women had trouble convincing the men about their ideas and often men tried to limit their participation in meetings or workshops because this meant less time for home and children. Nowadays men played an important part in the tourism activity and there seemed to be little worries related to gender equality.

Self-esteem had also increased due to indirect practices enabled by tourism, like education. Several community-members had taken part in courses related to tourism, which has often required travelling regularly outside the community. Especially during the first years, for many this meant going outside ones comfort zone and testing family life. In the long run, education has increased self-confidence in the sense of handling oneself plausibly outside the community and also in the psychological sense of increased knowledge. Because of opportunities related to the community's long experiences with tourism, some had got the chance to travel to different places in the country as well as abroad. The community college was partially financed by tourism, which has enabled better education opportunities for the young and thus affected their self-esteem.

Tourism was only few times mentioned interrelated with moments of submission. The role of intermediaries, such as guides or journalists, is highlighted in situations of personal subjugation. Some non-indigenous guides from outside accompanying visitor groups were seen as negatively affecting the position of the indigenous hosts as well as the whole visitor experience, causing feelings of indifference, discomfort, frustration and even anger among

the local guides. This occurred in situations when the guide from outside interrupted the local guide, did not translate everything the host said, ignored questions posed by the visitors to the local guide, responded the question him or herself or misrepresented the original information. This made the local host feel inferior and they felt that in the end it did not matter what they said because the guide had the final power in the situation. Instead of subjectively telling about the Bribris, someone else was doing it, reducing the control of locals. Guides behaving like this had visited the community for several times and were therefore already familiar with the most common information told to the visitors. Their behaviour could have been of pure ignorance or due to their personality, but still it strongly affected the cultural pride of the indigenous hosts in a negative way. These situations had even decreased the will of some community-members to work as a guide, when the visitor group brought their own guide with them.

The same kind of feelings had appeared occasionally when journalists came to interview people without further explanations about the purposes of their work and how the information would be used. That had made people feel uncomfortable and raised their distrust towards people. Even I was asked to be filmed by one group, but I kindly refused since I wanted to stay as neutral as possible and I did not know how it could potentially have affected. Feelings of deprivation among the community-members became even more evident when someone filmed without asking for the permission of the locals. It made the local people feel as they were regarded as objects and made people more sceptical and reserved towards media representatives as well as visitors. Sometimes negative feelings were more evident towards nationals than foreigners. *"I feel bad because it's something that is ours. There are people from outside who have come to do research with huge equipment, and one feels bad because why should I tell them something that is only mine, I feel that it's not right. Because they bring cameras and everything without explaining anything. But they are the ticos (Costa Ricans), not foreigners, foreigners come with the idea to help."* (Woman 33, 13N33YINT)^{xx}.

These situations of dismissing or objectifying the locals in one way or another, were easily related to broader power relations between the indigenous and the "whites". The Bribris conception of humankind relates to the hegemonic discourse of race and power, drawing from the notion of indigenous people as subalterns inferior to the white (Nygren 1998). The feeling of losing power and vulnerability was perceived even stronger if it happened on the

own territory. Regardless of tourism, the feeling of inferiority and discrimination can be deep rooted in the minds of the people, as explained by one informant: *"I think that discrimination is in oneself, we don't need the white to come and discriminate against anyone, people from outside don't come here to discriminate us, but many times people think wrong, they think that the tico from outside comes to discriminate, the Europeans also. But discrimination is sometimes in oneself, among the Indians themselves, that's what I've noticed, the Indian itself, because of egoism, because of envy, is very racist, all those things exist among people right here."* (Man 68, 8M68YIT)^{xxi}.

Tourists themselves had caused little negative influence on peoples identity. Most of the guests visiting the community are expected to be educated and aware of the realities indigenous people live in. Occasionally, some visitors had not been clear about the nature of the community prior to arrival. A few had had a relatively stereotypical and naïve image of indigenous people wearing loinclothes, which had made locals feel uncomfortable because they were perceived as "primitive" indians. Visitors had felt disappointed for example about the fact that people in the community dressed up like anybody else. Others had been surprised and positively impressed how "developed" the indigenous people were. Considered being "underdeveloped" was easily considered offensive by the locals, because their present day way of life was a normal continuum of how the Bribris have lived for ages. At the moment, juxtaposition between modernity and the preservation of traditions and their multiple meanings for each, is a burning question shaping peoples identity as individuals and as part of the indigenous group.

7 Tensions between cultural preservation and modernity

7.1 Local perceptions of development

The concept of development gained multiple meanings and many informants viewed it as dualistic, dividing the concept into the western vision of development and their own perception of development. "Us" and "others" was again put in opposition, stating the western idea of development as something *"They think is development"*, something invented by the "white". Development was commonly associated negatively, with exploitation of natural resources: *"For me, development means more and more and more and more and more and more and more, until ending with nature, that's development. Let's use what's necessary and let's develop with intelligence. Not only develop to develop, no."* (Woman 43, 1N43YIT)^{xxii}.

For example electricity, cel phones, internet and the recently built dirt road divided opinions, while the infrastructure like the highschool and the health post were seen as positive development by everyone. Phones and internet had facilitated communication with each other as well as with the tour operators the community worked with, and brought security in case of emergencies. The excessive use of cel phones by the younger generation nevertheless caused irritation among the older. The road had increased safety in case of an accident because it was faster than the boat ride and instead of having to take someone to the hospital during dark; it was safer by road than by river. Travelling by car was cheaper than by boat due to the high price of gasoline. Taking products for sale, was likewise less complicated by car. However, many trees were cut during the making of the road, which had considerably changed the landscape and trees no longer gave shade while walking. Especially for the elders, this had decreased the will to leave the community. Also, a near-by waterfall was destroyed, which had served as a vital source of water during the flood, which had damaged the village's acueduct. The road increased accessibility, thus causing fear of crime, although until now nothing serious had happened.

Electricity raised opinions in favor and against, and the support of electricity divided the community roughly in half. Electricity had been a discussion already for a while and the near-by community was wired lately. Constructing the road was seen as the first stage of bringing electricity to Yorkín. Many informants, especially those concerned of tourism

feared, that the community would become like any other place with lights, noise, television and all kinds of household appliances. Yorkín would lose big part of its attractions, silence, darkness and sounds of nature, becoming less interesting for visitors and endangering tourism as a source of livelihood. *"It's better that the tourists stay in the city and don't come here, and they are right. If I pay, I want to hear a frog, not music."* (Man 31, 17M31YIT)^{xxiii}. Besides the possible consequences for tourism, electricity was considered negative from a personal point of view. *"That's why I want to build my house over there in the jungle, to get more away from that."* (Man 22, 18M22YIT)^{xxiv}. Many informants thought that television would decrease the sense of communality, favor individuality and drive people to waste their time. Some informants stated the fact of losing autonomy and becoming a *"slave of the government"* by having to pay for electricity every month. Solar panels or generators were often considered enough to respond to the basic needs and to maintain their freedom.

Those favoring electricity, appealed to personal as well as mutual interests. For example the ability to use electric refrigerators and freezers instead of them working with gas, would be a big change and advantage for example for the shopkeepers, who could enlarge their selection. In Yorkín, so far, food had been prepared from ingredients that could survive outside temperatures. Only seldom people brought food to the community from outside. One informant criticized people, who opposed electricity and had been against building the road all way to the highschool: *"They don't know that they are delaying the education of their own children. Because if the trail had gone all the way there, there would now be electricity in both schools, they would have put a computer room. Now their children are falling behind and don't know how to use a computer, they could have been taught that, and now they don't have that opportunity because their own parents are the ones to blame. The thing is that I say this does not work, but I don't know the damage I'm causing to my own family, my own children."* (Man 58, 8M68YIT)^{xxv}. Only one person brought up, how much power tourists actually have in influencing peoples opinions in the community. The same person also strongly criticized the need and will of all outsiders to control what is happening in the community. Questions related to community-development and the preservation of the indigenous culture as well as recommendations about keeping the community as it was, were suggested by almost all the visitors I interacted with during my stay.

Some community-members demanded the right of modernizing while others wanted to keep away from the Western idea of development and considered development rather as going back towards embracing traditions. For example speaking more Bribri, extending knowledge of traditional medicine, building a conical house and acquiring an Awa, a Shaman, were thought to be of great benefit for the whole community. In contrast, one informant albeit working actively with tourists, claimed the right for indigenous people to have the same commodities, such as a fridge or a car, as everyone else: *"He may have amenities but why can't the Indian have them, we are also humans, we have that right as well. Like all Europeans have the right to live well, the Indian has the right to live well too. If it's possible; if it's not, what can we do, we have to live poorly."* (Man 58, 8M68YIT)^{xxvi}. The supposed way of life of the indigenous people is deep rooted in the mind of outsiders and also encouraged by NGOs working with the community. As stated by a non-community member working in an NGO that organizes visits to Yorkín *"I can not say that I see the Bribris for instance with a car, no because they have their own way of life on the indigenous territory."* (Woman 29, 21N29NYIT)^{xxvii}.

Poverty was a theme brought up in many conversations, because indigenous people are so often automatically stated poor. Poverty was seen relative; the minority claimed themselves poor while others felt they have never felt poor. Some even regarded it indeed offensive to be called poor. Poverty was more related to weak life management, not having a job or not having family. Poverty was not measured by economic indicators but instead as being able to fulfill basic needs, having a place to live and being self-sufficient. Few persons of those interviewed, had lived in an urban environment a period of time but ultimately returned back to Yorkín, because they preferred that kind of rural lifestyle instead of the urban. One informant told, that while living in the capital he had felt poorer than ever because every day one needed money to buy food, not to mention housing and other expenses. After a while he had returned to the community and was happy with his decision. Surprisingly, all the younger people I talked to, wanted to stay and settle down in the community rather than move elsewhere.

Tourism was seen as a central reason of increasing the quality of life in the whole community. Tourism had brought economic development in Yorkín, not only among people working with tourists but also indirectly on a broader level. By the increased economy,

people have been able to employ other community-members for example to take care of their parcels. Income gained by tourism was supposed to be used for the well-being of the family, not for personal purposes. Despite of the economic development brought by tourism, tourism was now seen more as an opposite to further economic development, reflecting the contradiction between economic development and cultural preservation (Yang and Wall 2009).

7.2 Commodification of indigenous identity and the question of authenticity

The commodification, transformation process from a non-commodity to a commodity, of indigenous culture and authenticity have been examined in a number of studies (Urry 1990; Grünewald 2002; Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos 2004; Theodossopoulos 2013). Tourism has been considered as leading to the commodification of cultural as well as ethnic identity. A central question in the discussion is the question of control; who is behind the staging of culture and at the expense of whom. It is argued that the lack of control over culture creates cultural loss (Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos 2004) and the advantages for the locals are clearly wider if the control and management of tourism development are in the hands of the indigenous people themselves (Chambers 2000). In Latin America, different geopolitical constructions of indigenous tourism have falsly altered the development of indigenous tourism towards international tourists being attracted by the exoticism of indigenous culture, often without involving the local indigenous communities (Pereiro 2015). The commodification and "inauthenticity" of indigenous cultures have merely been seen as negative matters if staging happens without the consent of indigenous people and they are not the direct beneficiaries. While many indigenous people recognize that tourism can increase commodification of culture, only a few, mainly elders, are concerned that this renders ethnic culture less valuable (Yang and Wall 2009). The fact of performing indigeneity for tourism purposes in a specific social arena does not constitute the lack of authenticity and it should be further questioned, authenticity from whose perspective? (Grünewald 2002).

In Yorkín, local people are in control of the tourims activity and the perception of authenticity is strong. *"As you see us, the way we are, that's how we are all the time."* (Woman 43, 1N43YIT)^{xxviii}. At present, nothing is "staged" only for tourists and most of the cultural performances visitors are presented, like the making of the roof, are still to some extent part of everyday life in the community. Cultural performances should be viewed as

cultural property and be consumed by tourists in a context of mutual exchange as opposed to a hegemonic one (Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos 2004). Activities for tourists have remained the same from the beginning and during the second visit the need for new ideas and innovations was noticeable. Some suggestions that came up in conversations were horse riding, rafting, building a replica of a conical house, and performing music and dances. Especially dance performances and dressing up divided opinions. Others saw it as shameful, rendering indigenous people back to their primitive position: *"No, because it would be a shame for us to present that because it is not part of our culture anymore at the moment, it's already left behind, one would be embarrassed to wear one of those things, no, that would never happen."* (Woman 43, 1N43YIT)^{xxix}. Some considered dances and dressing up as a good way of retrieving those traditions, which have been lost a long time ago. *"There are dances and all the dances have their traditional dress. It doesn't mean it's damaging but rather that we are recovering what has been lost, what we don't have anymore. Rather we should try to salvage the cultural dresses. I don't see it as commercialization."* (Man 45, 9M45YIT)^{xxx}.

Locals produce cultural performances also for themselves without having anything to do with tourism. I had the chance to take part in the cultural day held in the community, where locals had organized different cultural activities, like traditional dances and competitions of shooting with bow and an arrow, peeling plantains and drinking *chica*. Although there were visitors in the community at the time, they did not participate in the event. When I asked someone about it, I was told that they had not even thought about it because it was something of the community, not of the tourists. Everybody visibly enjoyed the event, which I saw as the local peoples way of strengthening communality and their collective identity, or just enjoying their time together by inventing different activities. Commodification of the Bribri identity at the expense of locals seems not a probable issue in Yorkín, although the question between authentic and staged culture might come to question if planning new activities for tourists. In this case the decision is still of the community-members themselves. Commodification of the indigenous identity was not related to the fear of weakening identity.



Figure 14. Competing in shooting with bow and an arrow during the cultural day

7.3 The fear of "losing our identity"

A common argument in the opposition of tourism development in indigenous communities is the worry of tourism causing degradation of traditions and increased influence of the western culture. In Yorkín one of the main goals of tourism since the beginning has been to strengthen the indigenous culture and identity, in which it has succeeded quite well according to the informants. Instead, racial mixing was considered as a main threat for indigenous identity and the preservation of traditions. Mixing with other indigenous groups was not regarded nearly as negative as intermarriage between indigenous people and "white" Costa Ricans or foreigners. The Bribris matrilineal clan system puts pressure especially on men. *"Because the woman gives the clan, it's matrilineal, so the children of the woman remain Bribri, in that case it's reverse, foreign men are not entitled to anything, not even to give their opinion, they can't do anything, not a tico whatsoever. The children of my sister, if my sister's husband was foreign, he has no right to do absolutely anything, not give his opinion, not decide, not take an any intern responsibility, nothing. So that's what happens. Men like*

me have to find an Indian for my children to have land rights and indigenous property rights." (Man 23, 12M23YIT)^{xxx}. At the same time the matrilineal system gives power to the men to eventually decide whether to continue the Bribri heritage, which puts personal interest in contradiction with mutual interests. *"What worries me is that because of the men it is going to lose. If they decide to unite with a woman of another race of another indigenous group, the children will belong to that other group, not to ours. The Bribri men have to get together with a Bribri woman so that she belongs to another clan, but is Bribri. But if he hooks up with a white woman, the woman does not have a clan, then the children will not have a clan either, they are white, they don't have a clan."* (Woman 16, 11N16YINT)^{xxx}. Especially the young mentioned that it is challenging to find appropriate companions of the same ethnicity, because families are extensive and many people are relatives. To avoid any deeper relationships between tourists and locals, the tourism organization Stibrawpa, had strict regulations about how to maintain a professional relationship with customers.

Another internal menace was losing traditional knowledge due to the perishing of the elders. The oral tradition of transmitting knowledge from generation to generation was weakening and younger people were not so familiar anymore with the traditional cosmovision of the Bribris. It was in part logical, because beliefs were not that present, affecting directly the everyday life of the young. This related to the loss of the Bribri language, which was considered being a huge concern of self-identification. Language was seen as one of the fundamental parts of distinguishing the Bribri from the others and limited language skills therefore reduced self-esteem and confidence. People felt ashamed for example when tourists asked how to say some word in Bribri and they did not have the answer. This seemed to considerably disturb the ones who did not know Bribri. One informant even questioned his right to claim being Bribri due to the fact that he did not speak the language.

External territorial and environmental threats, like hydroelectricity or mining and illegal migration of other groups to the area were seen alarming. Deforestation in the upper courses of the rivers has already affected the river flow, hence reducing fishery. On the Panamanian side, a big dam was recently built in the river Teribe, impacting the livelihoods of the Naso. Some informants were afraid that people would enter the community as tourists but in reality be looking for background information for opportunities to exploit the areas natural resources. This was also a reason why some locals did not want pictures taken of their

properties. Any kind of damage to the natural environment was considered threatening the livelihood of the community, therefore having implications also for their identity. Before tourism, the locals had cut down more forest to enlarge the cultivations for economic growth. Tourism had had a positive influence on the interest of environmental conservation because the need for commercial cultivation had decreased. There was an overall worry about the continuity of tourism as a source of livelihood, which caused economic uncertainty among the people. The global economic situation had already been noticed with the recent recession in Europe, reducing the number of European visitors. Intern problems and bad administration of the tourism activity was seen as another possibility of ending tourism in the community because people would lose their interest in working with tourism. On a national level indigenous tourism was seen having potential but the role of indigenous people in the industry was questioned. *"Tourism is, I don't know, it's double-edged. Right now Costa Rica is looking for example for indigenous tourism, because the country has exhausted all its resources. For example rafting, the visitor does not want to be there because the river is possibly contaminated. The other part is the beach, people are bored to come to the same beach again and again, see the same. They (the government) are looking for indigenous communities. They say that it's a help for the community and that the community benefits; yes the community benefits but at the same time we are exposed to many things, we are very vulnerable for any type of activity."* (Man 23, 12M23YIT)^{xxxiii}.

7.4 Implications for future: between indigenization and integration

Tourism has been identified both as a way of losing cultural integrity as well as gaining cultural rejuvenation. Several authors have made attempts to discuss the possible outcomes of tourism in indigenous or other ethnic communities and give suggestions for future implications. Grünewald (2002) refers to a process of "cultural revival" where minorities have generated an arena of social space for expressing their traditions commercially. Cultural change does not necessarily mean host populations acculturation to mainstream society but creating new cultural elements of a traditional character to create new spaces from which to address the world (Grünewald 2002). Bunten (2010) introduces the concept of "indigenous capitalism" as a strategy for indigenous people to successfully participate in the global economy, considering Indigenous people as active parties in their chosen profession in tourism. Attanapola and Lund (2013) examine the change of indigenous identities by a more abrupt division between indigenization and integration, reflecting the juxtaposition between

cultural preservation and modernity. They identify two different survival strategies: re-indigenization through tourism development and integration into mainstream society. Whatever strategies indigenous people think of to respond tourism, all pose both challenges and opportunities related to the broader socio-economic and geopolitical situation.

It is evident that development has changed identities of indigenous people and indigenous people are forced to redefine and re-negotiate their identity within new socio-economic and geopolitical contexts (Attanapola and Lund 2013). Indigenous and white peoples are related with each other and ethnic identity is more and more characterized by alterity and hybridity (Nygren 1998). Studies tend to point towards a need for change, because for the indigenous people remaining as they are tends to be impossible in the changing world. Still, the most common desire for future among the interviewees was that Yorkín would stay as it is at the moment. Several thought that they had reached the suitable mix of traditional and modern and if further changes occurred, there would no longer be any chance of going back, no possibilities for "re-indigenization". The right question to pose would therefore be how to be able to remain the way we are or is it impossible? In Yorkín, the division between people willing to embrace their traditional lifestyle and those wanting to pursue a more modern way of life is steadily present. Part of the people claim that they have already lost everything that could be called traditional while others hold on to the view that they still maintain many traditions. From the tourism perspective, maintaining the difference between the exotic and modern culture is a fundamental aspect attracting tourists to indigenous tourism ventures. The challenge for the indigenous people is therefore, how to maintain a big enough the difference between "us" and "them" to maintain the interest of tourists.

As suggested in the social identity theory, a person can belong to several groups at the same time adopting their identity according to different situations. Identity is changeable over time and space and voluntaristic enabling adaptation to new forms of identity depending on the situation (Attanapola and Lund 2013). According to Grünewald (2002), indigenous people are not Indians only for tourism but mold and remold themselves according to the expectations they impose on themselves. Already now, it is noticeable that people adapt different identities depending on the situation. The image of "indigenous" is easily polished when acting with tourists to respond the needs of tourism. Distinction is thereby made between the acted identity and the 'real' identity not presented to tourists (Stronza 2008).

In Yorkín people define their collective identity strongly related to their geographical location. This kind of place-bound identity occurs when the surrounding environment influences the behaviour and self-identification of a group belonging to a specific place (Pratt 1998). The future vision of the continuing population growth in the community addresses the issue to be able to maintain strong communality. At the moment community spirit is still strong. *"Indigenous people in rural zones we still maintain the habits of supporting each other, that's what I see in the indigenous people."* (Woman 29, 21N29NYIT)^{xxxiv}. Individuality is probable to increase complicating common decision-making and control over future development of the community. Already now one person had the desire of starting an own tourism company instead of working for the group to be able to have more liberty in decision-making.

The division between indigenization and integration is twofold and not very fruitful in predicting the continuation of tourism in Yorkín. Instead of seeing only two possible ways for the future development in the community, most suitable would be a model of combination between traditional and modern, a creative form of adaptation defined by the host community itself. Changes occurred during the last few years in the community spoke more for slow integration to mainstream culture, while the possibilities for re-indigenization seemed to become more and more challenging. I got the feeling that some people had already given up since the first visit and were just expecting what future would bring to the community. The division between those addressing the right to modernize and those stating importance of preserving culture and identity had increased. In opposition to the number of literature addressing cultural change in indigenous communities, cultural change can be viewed as an abstract made-up construct as expressed by one participant: *"The culture does not change, what changes are us, the ignorant. The culture maintains. The only thing that changes are the ignorant, who don't believe in the culture. That's the only thing."* (Man 23, 12M23YIT)^{xxxv}.

8 Discussion

8.1 Reflections of key findings to previous studies

This study contributes to understanding the processes behind indigenous tourism by analyzing the development of indigenous identity and the influence tourism has had on people's self-perception. In addition, it takes part in the discussion on broader interrelations between identity and development in indigenous communities. This paper is an important input to enrich knowledge of indigenous tourism in the Latin American context; which as stated by Pereiro (2016), should be more addressed in increasing the diversity and explanatory capacity of international indigenous tourism research. This research falls primarily into the category of perceiving indigenous tourism in a larger context not separate from other driving forces of sociocultural and economic development. Concerning overall changes produced by tourism in the indigenous communities, this research reflects Pereiros (2016) *adaptive view*, where positive and negative effects are both evaluated. With respect to indigenous presence, this study can be classified under Nielsen and Wilsons (2012) *stakeholder* typology. By this approach I want to highlight the position of indigenous people as active participants, which has often been criticized being lacking in previous studies.

The findings support the conclusions of previous studies (Stronza 2008; Heldt and Maureira 2015) where tourism is viewed centrally affecting the ways in which individuals see themselves, and how they perceive their identity and culture, as well as how identity is flexibly changeable in different situations. This study emphasizes the fact that identity construction in indigenous community-based tourism occurs through a conjoint process with tourists. Interactions between the guests and the hosts involve the exchange of expectations, stereotypes and expressions of ethnicity and culture, stating the deeper intercommunication instead of just the transaction of money for goods or services (Stronza 2008). As stated by Heldt and Maureira (2015), tourism has encouraged people to reconsider the importance of belonging to an indigenous group for example by gaining interest into learning the indigenous language and finding out more about the cultural traditions.

Community-based indigenous tourism creates a need to express strong collective ethnic identity, especially among those working with tourism, which is then further transmitted to their families. The interviewees, who did not work with tourists, did not show similar

significance of tourism affecting their construction of identity, although it is not possible to draw generalizations based on only a few interviews of people not directly engaged with touristic activities. This was not yet the case, but especially the young people expressed worries about balancing between the traditional indigenous mold and the everchanging dynamic culture. Young people felt pressure from their parents and other older community members to maintain traditions and to preserve the indigenous culture. This does not mean that young people do not care about their roots, but if given the freedom to express themselves as individuals, it can be easier to express the belonging to a larger group. The different individual needs of expressing ethnic identity can lead to intern division within the community. Further, it is curious how identity construction for tourism purposes may contradict with overall internal as well as external community-development goals. That's also what I considered the biggest challenge of this study in terms of placing boundaries to the subject. The research could have been narrowed down just to apply to tourism but then again, many interesting contradictions in the process of identity construction would have been left without notice. By focusing only on the three stages of identity construction, categorization, identification and comparison; would probably already been enough. Especially the ways in which locals compared themselves to tourists in different ways was surprising. In fact, this study left me with more questions that what I had in the beginning and it would provide an extremely interesting starting level for further questions to continue research with.

Based on my other experiences visiting different indigenous tourism ventures in other parts of Latin America as well as on other continents, Yorkín is so far a good example of overall successful indigenous tourism development, although in some cases indigenous tourism is claimed to strenghten the existing stereotypes and power relations related to indigenous people. In the case of Yorkín, locals themselves are in a strategical position regarding decisions about their future. The locals have considerable advantages comparing to many other indigenous people working with tourism worldwide. They have their own legally recognized territory, although law enforcement in preventing illegal settlements is inefficient. Tourism has developed slowly, which decresded the probability for it to cause negative effects, especially in indigenous areas without any previous experience of tourism (Pereiro 2016). Since the beginning, local people have been in control of tourism development and the whole community has benefitted of tourism in direct as well as indirect ways. Through increased working opportunities in the community, people have gained more economic freedom, although throughout, tourism has remained as an additional activity besides

agriculture. People can flexibly take part in tourist activities based on their own will and needs. This reflects partly upon the findings of previous studies of sustainable indigenous tourism models (Weaver 2010; Pereiro 2016), where gender roles are in balance, the whole community benefits directly and/or indirectly and tourism is in line with government policies and broader development goals. However In Yorkín, there seems to be confusion between the needs of tourism and other development goals, which has noticeably caused tensions within the community. Further, this discussion closely relates to the whole discussion of identity reconstruction through tourism.

The overall goal of indigenous tourism in Yorkín is largely in line with the principles of Buen Vivir, distinguishing the objectives of community tourism development from the idea of modernity rooted in Western knowledge (Gudynas 2011). Indigenous tourism can be regarded used as a form of expression addressing decolonial efforts and strengthening identities without growth being the only means of development. The aim of Buen Vivir is not to return to the past but providing a changeable concept that can constantly be created, where "the critical approaches to development can complement the indigenous traditions and vice versa" (Gudynas 2011). Although I do agree with the vision of Buen Vivir, I am skeptical towards it in the sense that is it really necessary to have a specific concept for something that as a goal should already be taken for granted; achieving good life redefined in each temporal, geographical, historical and cultural context. On the other hand, tourism in the community can also be observed from the opposite point of view, arguing that people engage in tourism because they have no other viable job opportunities. That is in part true because meaningful working options for indigenous people in the surroundings are limited and working elsewhere would require more travelling and complicate family life. Earning a decent living outside the community is still a challenge due to the indigenous peoples marginalized position in the mainstream society (Attanapola and Lund 2013).

Although it is not possible to draw uniform conclusion based on one case study, it can give important indications about same kind of issues in similar indigenous community-based tourism projects. I was surprised how much tourism actually seems to influence the way people perceive themselves and how much this can affect the overall atmosphere of the community. Now, the community is roughly divided into half in terms of considering tourism and cultural revitalization as important values. The legally recognized territory positively

affects the overall feeling of identity and belonging. Also I was confused about the fact that people's words and actions were in contradiction regarding issues related for example to housing. Older people tended to be more worried about changes in identity and culture than the younger generations. As stated by Yang and Wall (2009), young people are more concerned about making a livelihood while cultural preservation is not that important. In Yorkín, also the younger interviewees were concerned about losing their identity, but at the same time they recognized the need to respond to broader needs, by example stating the importance of studying English. Some question that emerged based on the research include whether tourism has affected identity only on a superficial level compared to the deeper structures of identity construction? To what extent does the pressure for preserving indigenous identity and traditions come from outside? If Yorkín would never have engaged in tourism and received financing by several organizations, how would the community look like now?

At the moment tourism is a natural part of everyday life in the community and the behavior of people does not really change whether they are with tourists or not. In the near future people will most likely face several challenges related to cultural performance because for example electricity seems like an evident change at some point. These kind of changes can lead local people having to stage their identity and culture for tourism purposes. In the worst case tourism can even end because if Yorkín does not anymore have anything special to offer for visitors, they will most likely go elsewhere. This leads to the broader prospects of future indigenous tourism development. What happens when indigenous tourism is "seen" and people start looking for new ideas? Do indigenous communities continue to have something to offer for those who have already seen everything? Is it enough if tourists are lodged in traditional-style houses and prepare food on fire if the locals behave differently? How will indigenous communities be able to respond to the changing trends of the tourism industry?

It feels somewhat ironical to do research on indigenous tourism on the other side of the world, while similar issues related to indigenous peoples rights and identity can be found much closer, in my home country Finland, which according to many indicators is supposedly more "developed". For example, every now and then the discussion about the use of replicas of the Sámi people's traditional dress in erroneous contexts comes up. Sámi people consider that only people of Sámi origin have the right to use this dress. If used incorrectly, it is

considered as staging their culture and exploiting their identity for commercial purposes. (see Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen 2014).

This study can serve for a variety of purposes and is aimed to attract different audiences. From the point of view of academic research, this study takes part in the discussion on complicated interrelations between tourism, identity construction and community-development. For the indigenous people themselves, especially in the community under study, this study can assist in reflecting the tourism activity in their community. I wish that also the visitors in Yorkín had the chance to read this to in order to better mirror their visit to the community and think about the further and deeper meaning of visiting an indigenous community. For policy makers this study can serve to understand the broader effects of decisions on indigenous people on a community-level, which as showed, can sometimes be contradictory with some of the community-members.

8.2 Theoretical and methodological considerations

The main purpose of social science research is to answer questions about social phenomena and look for causal explanations. The theoretical and especially methodological choices are central from the point of view of the trustworthiness of the research and validity and reliability are fundamental prerequisites for any scientific research (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 59). The theoretical framework of this study was initially based on conceptualizations, but while extending my knowledge about identity, I came across several interesting theories. I spent a lot of time familiarizing myself with identity formation theories and found myself relatively deeply entangled in social psychology, questioning the extent of crossdisciplinarity of this study. Finally, social identity theory proved to provide a good conceptual framework and deeper insight in analyzing the development of indigenous identity against tourism. Also, the complexity and different definitions of the concept of identity itself turned out to be a challenging to handle, reflecting the difficulties of a multidisciplinary research topic.

Case studies are common in indigenous tourism research and a good way of gaining knowledge of a wider phenomenon through a specific example. Again, case studies have been criticized for example of being too self-evident without further thinking what is it really a case of (Lund 2014). Doing a case study was still quite evident for me from day one, because it helped to outline the research topic and enabled ethnographic fieldwork. The use of semi-structured interviews and participant observation was a logical choice considering the nature

of this case study, although it would have been interesting to experiment something more peculiar. Interviews and participant observation anyway suit well the surroundings, because they follow the line of oral traditions and personal interactions, central to indigenous cultures (Cole 2005).

Before going to the field I did not really know what to expect and did not want to create any expectations either. I remember being a bit nervous about how everything would go since I had never been to Yorkín and did not know anyone from there. However, it was not my first time in a similar environment and knowing Spanish gave me more confidence. Eventually, the whole field work period went very well. I had already made a tentative interview guide but I ended up changing it almost completely on site. I spent unnecessarily much time in planning all the questions because soon after the first interviews I realized they went along quite naturally. I did one test interview which went well in terms of the themes and timing, so I proceeded directly to the actual interviews. Good planning is still vital in this kind of fieldwork conducted elsewhere, because it is practically impossible to get missing information afterwards. Nevertheless there are several questions that can be solved not until on the spot. I do not consider having any specific key informant during the fieldwork, although I the most I talked with the family members I was living with.

I believe that the amount of interviews was suitable for this type of study, although less interviews focusing only on a certain group, for example women or young might have been better. The saturation point was reached when no significant new information came out. Interviews made outside the community were left a bit separate and I had some trouble integrating them in the analysis. Yet, it could have been important to interview more people outside the tourism field in the community to see if other perspectives would have arisen. Covering a broader the segment of indigenous and community-based tourism in Costa Rica and government policies might have brought more background information about the national context to the study but drawing clear borders to the research was necessary keeping in mind that the objective was to carry out a case study.

Several times during the fieldwork I questioned the fact that although there are two tourism organizations in the community, I interacted more with the other. It was still somewhat evident, because Stibrawpa is bigger and several families form part of the organization, while Aventuras Naturales is more a family-run organization with their own premises. Also, I stayed

with one single family the whole time although in the beginning the intention was to change host every two weeks. Time passed and the matter was just left aside, which seemed to be fine for everyone. Still, it might have affected some people for example from an economic point of view. I was paying for my stay, but the money went through the bank account of the organization so I can not be completely sure how the money was divided in the end. Although I spent a relatively short time on the field, I believe that my presence did not alter much normal life in the community since people are used to visitors. It is still impossible to exactly know if someone behaved in a different way because I was there. I could easily have spent more time on the field to do more participant observation and I actually did change my flight date once. I am also glad I had the chance to visit the community a second time after one and a half years and I still regularly keep in touch with some members of the community. Hopefully I get to follow life in Yorkín also in the future to gain more knowledge and perspectives of long term development of indigenous tourism in the community.

The most challenging part of the work was to find a suitable framework of analyzing the large amount of data and try to successfully link it to theory to create common conclusions. Analyzing data, alone, is not enough to offer a holistic understanding about the phenomenon under study. "Exercising data", describes better the various procedures related to the interrogation of material. (Klang and Langley 2013, 155). There is no simple pattern to be followed in moving towards understanding and finding insight from the data. In the end, writing and analysis are inseparable at least in ones mind throughout the whole research process.

In qualitative tourism research, it is essential to clearly justify the the choice of approach and explain data collection and analysis procedures to increase the transparency of the research in order for readers to reflect the quality of the research process (Phillimore & Goodson 2004). The reliability of the study is associated with the researcher actions and the analysis of the material (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2010). According to Malinowski (1961, 2-3) the most rudimentary condition of validity is that the researcher is able to explain how the data was acquired and how the conclusions were achieved. A detailed and candid account of the data is vital in ethnography because it allows the reader to better evaluate the results vis-à-vis the circumstances where the observations were made. Malinowski (ibid. 7-9) argues that for ensuring validity, sufficient time must be spent with the informants so that the researcher becomes part of the daily life and does not affect the reality under investigation. In addition,

theory and interpretations have to be dissociated from direct observations and the informants' statements. Also Klang and Langley (2013) state, that instead of presenting the methods in qualitative research only following the usual academic prose, more emphasis should be put into describing the gap between theorization of the empirical data, i.e. the conceptual leap.

I have pursued to describe the research process as well as possible to open thoughts and complexities behind the theoretical and methodological choices as well as the conditions during the fieldwork period. Although often left aside and given less importance, I consider this an important part of the process, especially in the case of making a Master's thesis, because in the end it is a learning process. If one does not reflect upon the whole research process from the beginning to the end, it may leave key issues aside that may have affected the final conclusions. It would be interesting to see what kind of results would someone else find by doing the same study by making their own methodological choices or even using the same methods. Especially of great interest would be to find out how another person would have analyze my data, what kind of framework that person would have used and what conclusions would it have given. Triangulation, the combination of different methods and approaches, is one way of increasing the validity and reliability of a research, but would not have been possible within the limits of this study.

8.3 Ethical observations

The ethical side must always be taken into account in any research. Already the selection of the research subject is an ethical question and the designation of the research problem cannot be considered as theoretically free or value-free (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 69-70). Studies on indigenous people, including indigenous tourism studies, have repeatedly been criticized by post- and anticolonial, critical, and indigenous researchers. The debate has mainly been about the ethics, mainly about the costs and benefits of this kind of research for the indigenous people. (Nelsen and Wilson 2012). "Research projects conducted in indigenous communities have largely been developed within a dominant western research paradigm that values the researcher as knowledge holder and the community members as passive subjects" (Koster et al. 2012). More and more researchers have become aware of the importance of the participation of indigenous people themselves in the research process as well as allowing indigenous people control their involvement in the whole tourism industry. As the gran majority of researchers tend to be western, white, non-indigenous, extensive self-reflection is

vital throughout the whole research process. Like in any qualitative research, central questions to be asked are: How do I affect the research process? What kind of impacts is my research likely to have on the people involved? Does my research actually help or benefit the people studied? Is the research ethically conducted and by the ethical standards of whom? (Nielsen and Wilson 2012).

Practical ethical principles that are important to be followed while doing ethnographic fieldwork are: to maintain confidence with the informants during the whole process, inform respondents about the background and the purpose of the research, treat informants anonymously in the study unless otherwise appointed, try to be as neutral and objective as possible and not give any promises one cannot fulfill and make clear that participation in the interviews is optional for everyone. Sometimes even basic information, such as age, economic situation, level of education or ethnicity can be considered as sensitive matters from the point of view of the respondent (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2010). In the interview situations and during the whole research process I never considered myself as any kind of knowledge holder.

Ethnographic research is to some extent always influenced by the observer's pre-existing attitudes limiting objective and unbiased observation. Yet, the goal is to be conscious about it. Once the researcher comes to terms with his/her partial and situated 'subjectivity' rather than aspiring an impossibly distanced 'objectivity', the 'subjectivity' is much less a problem and much more a resource for deeper understanding. Ethnographers cannot either take a naïve stance that what they are told is the absolute truth. (Crang and Cook 1995, 11). This is related to the central question of western philosophy about "How can I understand the other?" (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002), being is in the sheer centre of this research.

What to give back to the community? It is a complex question with no right answer. The only thing I brought with me when I went to Yorkín was some Finnish chocolate because I was not able to decide what could be a suitable gift or compensation for interviewees for giving me their time. The chocolate was dealt among all and no specific gift was given to the interviewees. On the other hand it would have been fair to give some kind of a "prize" to the interviewees because after all, the information obtained through the interview is also an "award" for the researcher. By helping with different daily tasks I hope to have helped the community also from my part. Giving back does not necessarily mean something material

and especially money should not be given directly as counterpart from an interview. The community still benefitted from me economically as I did pay for my stay. One cannot either take somebody else's time for granted and time is as precious for the informants as for the researcher. Although outsiders might easily think that people living in such environment have time to participate in research but in practice it might even be the opposite. As many rely on agriculture, right timing in the tasks is essential for the wellbeing of the whole community.

In ethnographic research it is important for the researcher to throughout the research process be aware of his/her own position. In my case I am basically an opposite of my informants, the indigenous people in the community I was doing research in: a white, western, young woman, who has almost always lived in an urban environment. Although I cannot escape or deny the power relations, my own position and my difference, I however hope to be as much as possible "at the same line" with the informants. I also do not want to fall in the trap of romanticizing the indigenous people and their way of life. I do not want to highlight me being a researcher either but everybody had the right to be aware of it and know my intentions. During the whole research process I have tried to reflect on what can the community potentially gain from my research or could there even something they could lose because of my research. Engaging in the research issue at a too personal level might also be an ethical problem. When spending time on the field one cannot avoid the fact of becoming friends with the locals. In this case I do not see it as an issue because it is part of normal behaviour of a person. Becoming more friends with the interviewees increases the probability of being more honest and direct.

Nielsen and Wilson (2012) argue that although taking into account indigenous people's experiences and concerns, the *stakeholder* view does not necessarily place indigenous people in control of the research nor allow them to directly benefit from its outcomes. I acknowledge this issue partly in my research, but at the same time believe that research cannot be further judged depending on the background of the researcher. The ultimate goal of all academic research is to bring together different points of views and perspectives from people with diverse backgrounds to create constructive discussion leading to more comprehensive knowledge. Objectivity and subjectivity are issues that must be taken into account in all qualitative research. Would the discussion on indigenous tourism be the same if it were all made from an *indigenous-driven* point of view? It can either be taken for granted, that the approached used

by indigenous-driven researchers are always based on good indigenous research principles benefitting indigenous people directly (Nilson and Wilson 2012).

After my work has been completed, I consider important to let the community know about my findings and make a summary of the work also in Spanish. Hopefully the work will be put in a place that also visitors have the opportunity to read it and reflect more on the effects of their stay. I am also planning to make a photo album and sending it together with the finished work, which can, if wished by the locals, used for tourism purposes. I am also aware that at this point of the research it is not yet possible to determine whether the people in Yorkín will benefit from the outcomes and in the case they will, how.

9 Conclusions

The experiences of community-based indigenous tourism in Yorkín demonstrate the complexity of issues regarding indigenous people's perception of themselves, as at the same time they must respond to the needs of tourism and think about broader questions related to cultural change and community-development. The aim of the research was to analyze how ethnic identity is reconstructed through tourism and what consequences has tourism had on people's self-perception in the context of the Bribri-community of Yorkín in Costa Rica. The development of ethnic identity was analyzed through a contextual framework of social identity theory using the concepts of categorization, identification and comparison. Moreover, the study identified central elements forming the basis of indigenous identity and brought about the ways in which indigenous identity is flexibly expressed in different situations, within tourism and outside tourism. The discussion was then tied to broader factors concerning community-development shaped by the division between modernisation and preservation of culture. Finally, the study analyzed central factors considered by the locals as possible future threats in maintaining their ethnic identity.

The study draws from ethnographic methods and is based on participant observation and 24 semi-structured interviews, of which the majority were conducted among community-members and the rest with other people actively working with community-based tourism. In addition, field notes and a number of informal conversations add up to the data. Two visits were made to the community: the seven-week fieldwork period in April-May 2014 and another shorter visit in December 2015. The data was analyzed by qualitative content analysis.

Some major conclusions can be drawn from the the material:

- Tourism plays a central part in the development of a collective sense of indigenous identity through a process of comparison between locals and tourists, although differences in the ethnic awareness can be noticed between people working in tourism and those who do not work with tourists.
- Tourism has in many ways positively affected peoples self-perception by increasing cultural pride, self-esteem and gender equality and has encouraged to revitalize indigenous

language skills and knowledge of cultural traditions. Moments of discrimination occur in situations, where the historical position between the white and the Indians emerges and power relations become an issue.

- Tourism can increase the pressure of reconstructing indigenous identity and lead to the formation of the image of a "legitimate and real Indian" limiting the expression of identity on a personal level, especially among the young. This may lead to the division of identities specific for each situation.
- Indigenous identity is a holistic construct that can flexibly adapt into different situations and contradictions can be observed in the use of identity for different purposes.
- The principles and desires of tourism development can be in contradiction with community-development causing tensions within the community.
- Possible staging of indigenous culture and the commodification of indigenous identity for tourism purposes divides opinions but can become into question in the future in order to maintain indigeneity as the essence of the tourism attraction.
- Tourism is not considered as a threat for losing identity, whereas the worry of mixing with non-indigenous people; territorial and environmental threats and different future visions regarding community-development are seen as main challenges in preserving the indigenous identity.

The study shows the potential of indigenous community-based tourism as an additional source of income and a way to revalorize traditional cultural practices. Tourism in indigenous communities can reinforce sustainable economic, social and cultural development if managed adequately. Definition and reconstruction of indigenous identity is argued to be in the center of this discussion. Recognizing the combination of historical and present-day influence is fundamental to understand the complex and dynamic nature of identity. On a community-level, indigenous identity is developed and reinforced through a process of comparison and mutual interaction with the visitors, involving different stereotypes and expectations from behalf of both parties. The fact that locals evaluate and situate their own position by looking at it in contrast to that of the tourists has been lacking in many previous studies. Positive elements of indigeneity and the own culture are emphasized whereas negative aspects regarding the everyday life of the visitors are highlighted. Discussions with visitors and other outsiders, such as members of NGOs working with the community, appear to influence the way of thinking of the locals.

In general, locals feel proud to be indigenous and tourism has augmented the feeling of uniqueness among the people working with tourists. Tourism has increased people's self-esteem and cultural pride as well as enhanced the collective identity of other groups, such as women or young people. Tourism has empowered women and the younger generation and increased gender equality through working and studying possibilities. In addition, tourism has indirectly contributed to the well-being and self-esteem by enabling the construction of the community college and health post. People have become more interested in learning the Bribri language and finding out about their cultural heritage, beliefs and stories from the elders, because due to the oral tradition information has become more scarce. Occasional moments of submission have arisen in situations that involve intermediaries, such as guides; or when the locals position is underestimated for example by journalists or tourists that have had mistaken images of the community.

The cultural difference between the hosts and the guests is the essence of the tourist attraction and the smaller the difference becomes, the less attractive it is from the point of view of tourism. Therefore, tourism increases the pressure to maintain a strong collective identity to sustain tourism as an income source. People working with tourists feel stronger pressure of preserving the ethnic identity than those who do not directly depend upon tourism. They are also the ones to speak for the preservation of culture and traditions and most strongly opposing to changes in the community. Because there is not an exact line between tourism activities and everyday life in Yorkín and tourism does not involve staging, people do not considerably separate their identities depending on the situation, although some signs can be noticeable especially among the young. Still, there seems to exist a relatively clear image about the ways in which ethnic indigenous identity should be expressed, especially in front of tourists leading to a construction of the image of a "legitimate Indian". This image is contested by a variety of contradictory practices, which can create tension within the community. The need to reproduce this image can come from outside and relate to the notion of authenticity perceived from the point of view of the outsiders. The understanding of authenticity clashes when real indigeneity is at the same time tried to be defined from outside and inside.

Already now indigenous identity has become a strategic means of power, that can be adopted into different purposes. Besides tourism, indigenous identity is centrally affected by other factors, such as government practices and development projects by NGOs. Government

practices may at the same time stimulate the interest in rethinking the importance of ethnic identity by for example supporting the indigenous language instruction in schools, while at the same time it can complicate the reconstruction of ethnic identity by for example influencing the infrastructure of the community. Eventually this leads the local indigenous people to a complex position, where they have to weight different options and find a balance suitable for each. Vulnerability can increase if the locals do not have the ultimate control of constructing their identity despite of possessing a legally recognized territory, which was proved to be important, as indigenous identity is largely place-bound.

While tourism plays an active role in the construction of indigenous self-perception, tourism is not considered as a menace for identity. Tourism plays a minor part in overall cultural change, although the impacts of tourism are difficult to distinguish from other driving forces of globalization. Government practices, modernization, urbanization and digitalization are significant forces in shaping indigenous identity. This may result even more challenging in the construction of identity when different practices are interrelated to each other. In the case of Yorkín, already without tourism people face challenges in defining their ethnic identity, for example due to limited language skills.

The multidisciplinary nature of this study can be considered as a strenght but also as a limitation, because the theoretical framework of indigeneity and identity draw from different disciplines, making the relation between different conceptualizations vague. Another limitation is the variety of people interviewed. Although the interviewees consist mainly of community-members working with tourism, they still form a quite heterogenous group. Community-members not working with tourism form a minority of the people interviewed and interviews made outside the community were left a bit separate. In this case the possibility of drawing straightforward conclusions is more complicated than if the focus had been only on a certain group, for example on the young or on women. Anyhow, the comparison of perceptions between people working with tourists and those not provided fruitful ideas of how opinion within the community can differ from each other.

The interrelations between indigenous tourism, development, identity and culture provide several interesting opportunities to focus in future research. Comparing the construction of identity of different demographic groups, for example the adolescents, the middle aged and

the elders would provide more comprehensive information on how the identity formation process differs from generation to another. For the younger generation in Yorkín, tourism is a normal part of everyday life, because it has been present during their whole life. It would also be interesting to look at the visitor's perspectives and how they perceive their identity compared to the indigenous hosts. I would especially be interested in focusing on language and the possibilities of tourism in the recovering of indigenous languages. Methodwise, cooperating and engaging more the local people in the research process would definitely bring new insights to the research.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Original quotations in Spanish

ⁱ *No me siento Bribri porque no tengo clan, lo otro no me siento Bribri porque no hablo el Bribri, en cambio el Naso lo hablo y lo entiendo y se perfectamente todo lo que tiene que ver porque yo me crie allá. Para mi lo importante es ser indígena. Puede ser de donde sea pero es indígena. (Woman 39, 4N39YIT).*

ⁱⁱ *Hemos sido maltratados de la gente de la ciudad. Han robado todo esto, han llevado esto, han llevado el otro. Y somos los que menos recibimos. Entonces ellos ya tenían miedo de eso, entonces no veían el turismo como interesante pues. Ellos no querían eso y que todavía la gente siguen aprovechándose de nosotros. (Woman 43, 1N43YIT).*

ⁱⁱⁱ *Esto es territorio indígena, por eso digo que es otra Costa Rica. Costa Rica es allá en San José. Esto es otra Costa Rica, así es. Pero igual votamos cuando tenemos que votar, a veces en los 2 lados (Costa Rica y Panamá) (Man 23, 12M23YIT).*

^{iv} *Nosotros vivimos con la naturaleza, en todo el mundo, los indígenas que viven en el mundo son los primeros que cuidan la naturaleza. Ahí si no cambia nada. Podemos cambiar en otras cosas, en la comida, la forma de organizarnos, la forma de tener rituales diferentes. Pero en la naturaleza todos nos parecemos. (Woman 43, 1N43YIT).*

^v *El indígena es orgulloso, es una palabra orgullosa, yo soy indígena, nací aquí desde que dios fundo la tierra el indígena nació en ese. Cuando dios hizo la tierra, echó al mundo el indígena primero. (Man 69, 2M69YINT).*

^{vi} *Nos sentimos orgullosos al ser Bribris porque somos los únicos, no hay otros que nos puedan decir que tenemos el mismo nombre. Siempre ha sido así. (Woman 43, 1N43YIT).*

^{vii} *No vienen a ver que yo ande con todo con los audífonos en el oído. Claro yo lo hago pero lo hago donde no me estén viendo o después en la noche. (Man 22, 18M22YIT).*

^{viii} *Si yo ando aquí con un cadenón de oro todos los visitantes van a decir pero esto no es un indio. En el caso de las mujeres, si andan todas maquilladas van a decir esta no es una indígena. (Man 22, 18M22YIT).*

^{ix} *Con el turismo nadie se ha cambiado, eso ya viene por se quieren hacer como un Daddy Yankee, los jóvenes, mas que todo los jóvenes porque de mi edad ya no (Man 31, 17M31YIT).*

^x *Te voy a confesar algo con confianza. La parte indígena que yo conozco, ellos son como muy vagos, no hacen nada, solo toman y tratan a las mujeres muy mal, tienen a los chiquillos ahí en muy malas condiciones, y entonces yo estaba esperando que acá fuera parecido pero no, realmente me encontré con una comunidad totalmente diferente. (Man 40, 20M40NYNIT).*

^{xi} *Claro, es una ventaja ser indigena porque hay muchas leyes que nos protegen (Man 36, 5M36YIT).*

^{xii} *Cuando se dan cuenta que la cultura es importante es cuando la necesitan. Cuando la necesitan es que digo ahora si soy indigena pero cuando no le conviene dicen que yo no soy indigena. Por ejemplo la necesitan cuando necesitan ir al medico y que el medico le pase de primero un ejemplo. Ahora si me hago ser valer como bribri. O por ejemplo cuando voy en la escuela, los maestros, principalmente para que sean maestros, tienen que ser hablantes de Bribri y Bribris con clan. Sino no pueden ser maestros, ahí si busco ver como hablo bribri y como me hago ser Bribri. O cuando el gobierno esta dando un incentivo por ejemplo a las mujeres indigenas, todo el mundo quiere ser indigena para que el gobierno me de. Esos son cuando les conviene ser indigena. (Man 23, 12M23YIT).*

^{xiii} *Costumbres, la manera de hablar el idioma eso si no va a perder, la manera de vivir con las casas de hojas eso tampoco, eso lo mantenemos (Woman 42, 16N42YIT).*

^{xiv} *Ya nos hacen vivir como vive la gente de afuera. ya no como yo vivía, sino que me estoy aculturando a la forma de la gente, los siqua. Si hay que dar ese cambio por conveniencia. porque nos están dando un bono y lo acepto, no lo voy a negar. (Man 45, 9M45YIT).*

^{xv} *Cuando por ejemplo me encuentro con la presidenta Laura Chinchilla, no me conviene ni quiero decir que soy Bribri porque no se. Yo he visto eso pero no se. O con el diputado tal o con el licenciado tal no se quien. No quiero ser Bribri porque yo me siento mas vulnerable que la gente grande, no se porque. Eso es lo que yo he visto" (Man 23, 12M23YIT).*

^{xvi} *Hay jóvenes que les da vergüenza su identidad cultural, es importante valorar eso. yo no se porque les da vergüenza. Aquí no es muchos pero en otras comunidades que son Bribris y cuando van para San José ya no quieren hablar el Bribri, allá no hablan el Bribri. (Man 45, 9M45YIT).*

^{xvii} *La cultura indígena, somos muy nosotros, muy protegidos, no hablamos mucho, hablamos entre nosotros pero no queremos socializar y compartir (Woman, 29, 21N29NYIT).*

^{xviii} *Porque siempre el indígena es así. Yo para comer yo agarro un plato me voy ahí adentro a comer. Siempre he tenido esa costumbre. Pero ahora ya un poco perdí la vergüenza y salí a comer con los visitantes y converso con ellos como que es de la misma familia. Todos los trato como que si es de la misma familia, converso con ellos, puedo comer juntos con ellos. (Man 58, 7M58YIT).*

^{xix} *Trato de promocionarlo lo mas que yo pueda, llamarle la atención de ellos para que sepan que adelante de ellos es un valor importante (Man, 45, 9M45YIT).*

^{xx} *Me siento mal porque es algo que es de nosotros. Hay gente de afuera que ha venido a hacer investigación con aparatos grandes y uno se siente que porque les voy a estar contando cosas que es mío interno, ahí se siente no esta bien hecho. Porque ellos traen cámara y todo sin explicar nada. Pero son los ticos, los extranjeros no, ellos vienen con una idea de ayudar. (Woman, 33, 13N33YINT).*

^{xxi} *Yo siento que la discriminación esta en uno mismo, no necesitamos que el blanco no viene a discriminar a nadie, la gente de afuera no nos viene a discriminar pero muchas veces la gente piensan mal, piensan que el tico de afuera viene a discriminar, los Europeos. Pero la discriminación esta a veces entre uno mismo, entre los mismos indígenas, eso que yo noto, el mismo indígena es, por el egoísmo, por la envidia, muy racista, todas esas cosas existen. La gente de aquí mismo. (Man, 68, 8M68YIT).*

^{xxii} *Para mí el desarrollo significa más y más y más y más y más y más y más y hasta terminar con la naturaleza, eso es el desarrollo. Usemos lo necesario y que desarrollemos con inteligencia. No desarrollar solo por desarrollar, no. (Woman, 43, 1N43YIT).*

^{xxiii} *Mejor los turistas se quedan en la ciudad y no vienen aquí y tienen razón. Si yo voy a pagar yo quiero escuchar una rana, no una música. (Man, 31, 17M31YIT).*

^{xxiv} *Por eso es que yo quiero hacer mi casa allá en la jungla para alejarme mas de eso (Man, 22, 18M22YIT).*

^{xxv} *No saben que están retrasando la educación de sus propios hijos. Porque si la trocha hubiera pasado por allá y llega la luz al colegio y a la escuela, hubieran puesto una sala de computadoras. Ahora sus hijos están retrasados y no saben agarrar una computadora o puede ser que podían enseñarles y ahora no tienen esa oportunidad porque los mismos padres son culpables a eso. La cosa es que aparentemente que yo digo no esto no sirve, pero no se el daño que estoy haciendo, el daño a mi propia familia, a mis propios hijos. (Man, 58, 8M68YIT).*

^{xxvi} *El puede tener comodidades pero porque el indígena no lo puede tener, nosotros somos humanos también, tenemos ese derecho también. Como toda la gente Europea tienen derecho de vivir bien, el indígena también tiene le derecho de vivir bien. Si se puede, si no se puede ya que vamos a hacer, tiene que vivir mal. (Man, 58, 8M68YIT).*

^{xxvii} *Yo no puedo decir que con los Bribris yo veo como que sea un carro, no porque ellos tienen su modo de vida en el territorio indígena (Woman, 29, 21N29NYIT).*

^{xxviii} *Como ustedes nos ven, la manera que somos, así somos todo el tiempo (Woman, 43, 1N43YIT).*

^{xxix} *No, porque ya para nosotros ya seria una vergüenza presentar eso porque ya no es nuestra cultura en este momento, ya como que paso eso, ya a uno le da vergüenza a ponerse una cosa de esas, no jamás lo va a ponerse (Woman, 43, 1N43YIT).*

^{xxx} *Hay bailes y todos esos bailes tiene su vestimenta tradicional para bailarlo. No es que se esta dañando sino que estamos rescatando lo que teníamos que se ha perdido. Porque nosotros no lo tenemos. Mas bien tendría que rescatar esa vestimenta cultural. No lo veo como una comercialización. (Man, 45, 9M45YIT).*

^{xxxi} *Porque la mujer le da el clan, es matrilineal, entonces los hijos de esa mujer siguen siendo Bribrí, ahí es al revés, los hombres extranjeros no tienen derecho de nada ni de opinar, no pueden hacer nada, no los ticos, ni un tico lo que sea. Los hijos de mi hermana, si el esposo de mi hermana fuera un extranjero, el esposo de mi hermana no tiene derecho de hacer nada*

nada, ni opinar, ni decidir, ni tomar un cargo interno, nada. Así pasa entonces. Los hombres como nosotros tenemos que buscar una indígena para que mis hijos tengan derechos de la tierra y derechos de tener propiedad indígena. (Man, 23, 12M23YIT).

^{xxxii} *Lo que me preocupa es que por los varones se va a perder. Y si se juntan con otra raza de otra etnia indígena, los hijos van a pertenecer a esa otra, no a nosotros. Los hombres Bribri tienen que juntarse con una muchacha Bribri pero que tenga otro clan pero que sea Bribri. Pero ya si se junta con otra mujer blanca la mujer no va a tener clan, entonces los niños no van a tener clan, ellos son blancos, no tienen clan. (Woman, 16, 11N16YINT).*

^{xxxiii} *El turismo es no se, es doble filo. Ahorita mismo Costa Rica esta buscando por ejemplo el turismo indígena porque todos los recursos que han tenido en el país se les ha agotado. Por ejemplo el rafting, el visitante no quiere estar ahí porque posiblemente el rio es contaminado. La otra parte es la playa, ya están aburridos a venir a lo mismo, la playa la playa, y viendo lo mismo. Ellos (el gobierno) están buscando a las comunidades indígenas. Ellos dicen que es una ayuda para la comunidad que la comunidad se beneficia, la comunidad se beneficia si pero estamos expuestos a muchas cosas, somos muy vulnerables para cualquier actividad que se preste. (Man, 23, 12M23YIT).*

^{xxxiv} *Los indígenas en zonas rurales todavía mantenemos esas costumbres que nos apoyamos entre si, eso es lo que yo veo en los indígenas (Woman, 29, 21N29NYIT).*

^{xxxv} *La cultura no cambia, lo que cambia somos nosotros ignorantes. La cultura se sigue manteniendo. Lo único que cambia son los ignorantes que no creen en la cultura. Es lo único. (Man, 23, 12M23YIT).*